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BUILDING THE ROAD TO CONFLICT OR PEACE

THE ROLE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

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THE ROLE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

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The findings and conclusions in this report are those of the authors and do not represent the views of the U.S. Agency for International Development.

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Abbreviations

ADEA	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
APG	Asamblea del Pueblo Guaraní
CCRE	Consultative Commission for Education Reform
CDIE	Center for Development Information and Evaluation
DIGEBI	General Directorate of Bilingual and Intercultural Education
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EDUCO	Education with Community Participation Program
EFA	Education for All
EMU	Education for Mutual Understanding
NGO	nongovernmental organization
PPC	Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, USAID
RUF	Revolutionary United Front (Sierra Leone)
SEEU	South East European University
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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Executive Summary

Introduction

Historically, the education provided in public schools has been popularly viewed as an unambiguously positive force. In recent years, however, this assumption has increasingly been challenged in a growing body of literature documenting ways that public education can intentionally or unintentionally sow the seeds of future violence.

Public education, by itself, does not cause conflict or bring about peace. It does, however, play a role in fostering conditions that promote conflict or peace.

The Center for Development Information and Evaluation in USAID's Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination undertook a five-month desk study of public education's role in fostering the conditions that promote conflict or peace. The study examined educational policies and practices in more than 40 countries, noting how they evolved over time within their political and social landscape as well as any convincing evidence linking them to conflict or peace.

This report provides the findings that emerged from the study. It also offers recommendations and guidance to help inform and stimulate discussion and debate among policymakers and practitioners on how best to tackle the pressing educational challenges faced in fragile states and postconflict settings. This study directly supports USAID's conflict management and mitigation policy, which promotes application of a conflict "lens" when designing, implementing, or assessing assistance programs (USAID 2005).

Key Findings

Public education, by itself, does not cause conflict or bring about peace. It does, however, play a role in fostering conditions that promote conflict or peace—a role that involves the complex interplay of a dynamic set of factors. The patterns that emerged in this study point to the agendas of government and others involved in educational governance as a key element. Also important are a number of policies and practices associated with educational equity, the language of instruction, and what children learn in the classroom.

Governance of Education: Educational policies and practices are ultimately based on choices made by the government. It is popularly assumed that governments provide education primarily so that students can acquire knowledge and develop skills. However, many political and social scientists maintain that the objectives driving this activity are broader, including the social goal of transmitting cultural knowledge, values, and attitudes as well as the political goal

of instilling loyalty to and support for the state.

A number of these scholars argue that not only is the control of socialization through schooling assigned a high priority by all governments worldwide, but that it is often the main reason for the type of policies and practices chosen. How authorities gain and share power, what principles guide them, how they decide who gets educated, what is taught, and how and where money is spent may help foster the conditions that promote either peace or war. Public education's positive or negative contribution to society largely reflects the constantly evolving interaction between a country's economic, cultural, social, and political forces and the political agendas of those in power.

Donor assistance has often played a critical role in stabilizing and supporting educational governance during and after conflict. However, their mandates, funding, roles, and responsibilities can also exacerbate the challenges that authorities face when governing education during and after conflict and may be used by some authorities to continue perpetuating divisive policies and practices.

Equity: Educational equity is at the heart of education's power to help build or undermine social cohesion. Exclusionary and discriminatory educational policies and practices were prominent in many of the conflict-ridden countries examined during this study. These policies and practices include an uneven distribution of educational resources, quota systems, and examination systems that promote failure and economic exclusion. In many societies, the ruling elite employ these methods to reserve access to quality education to particular ethnic or social groups, which reinforces existing divisions in society and may exacerbate the tensions that lead to conflict. For education to be equitable, a country must have several elements in place: an explicit pro-equity policy, a methodology for assessing local needs, and monitoring and reporting systems to ensure that schooling is being provided equitably.

Language: Choices made regarding the language of instruction and how to treat other languages are complex and can be extremely contentious. In many of the conflict-prone countries studied, where there are multiethnic and multilinguistic populations, there is a continual struggle between the need for a common language to promote national unity and pressure for a language policy in schools that reflects the country's diversity.

While this study examined a variety of language policies, no one policy was identified that works well in all situations. To promote peace, however, clearly the design of a country's language policy must consider the situation and needs of its minority groups as well as the balance of power between them and the dominant group or groups. Whether countries choose versions of an assimilation, "mother tongue," or bilingual language policy, careful, participatory planning is required if the policy is to promote social cohesion and not disenfranchise a segment of the student population.

Curriculum and Instruction: What students learn and experience in the classroom can help to shape the values, attitudes, and behaviors of youth, and it likely plays a decisive role in whether public education contributes to conflict or peace. Some of the ways that curriculum content, classroom messages, and instructional techniques may promote social disintegration and conflict include

- emphasizing the history, accomplishments, values, and traditions of only one group in society
- portraying other groups in demeaning ways, as unequal to or a threat to the dominant group
- reinforcing existing stereotypes and prejudices
- promoting the use of violence as an acceptable or even preferred strategy to resolve conflict
- using instructional approaches that teach students not to question authority or ideas presented
- using harsh punishment and humiliation as routine disciplinary measures and permitting emotionally abusive exchanges and physically violent interactions among students

Some of the ways that curriculum content, classroom messages, and instructional techniques may promote social cohesion and peace include

- promoting a sense of inclusiveness
- emphasizing customs, values, and traditions of all members of society
- denouncing negative portrayals of nondominant groups
- promoting the use of peaceful methods to resolve problems and disputes

- using instructional approaches that promote critical thinking and interactive learning
- introducing peace education into the curriculum

Summary of Recommendations and Conclusions

The central message emerging from this and similar studies is that donors need to think more critically and strategically about how best to structure educational assistance to states in crisis or emerging from conflict to ensure that their aid contributes to future peace rather than future conflict. Designing and implementing a peace-promoting public education system in fractured settings is a long-term, holistic endeavor. All aspects of the system must be thoroughly evaluated in order to design policies that result in sustainable peacebuilding.

The following recommendations support USAID's intention to optimize the use of its educational resources in fragile and postconflict states in a way that helps rebuild the education system while also helping to build social cohesion and mitigate future conflict.

1. Apply a conflict lens when designing and implementing educational assistance. USAID must thoroughly examine public education's possible contributing role in past conflicts, as well as the potential impacts of current policies and practices, to ensure that educational aid works to help build social cohesion and does not contribute to further violence.

2. Sequence educational interventions within a conflict-prevention framework. Educational interventions should be carefully sequenced within a conflict-prevention framework so that interventions actively help build social cohesion, lay a foundation for future peace, and reduce the risk of further violence.

3. Promote participatory approaches to education reform. Educational reform initiatives should be developed through a consultative process that encourages broad participation of all stakeholders in society.

4. Strengthen the link between education and future employment. Primary education should instill foundational skills usable across a broad area of employment and productivity, while secondary instruction should build more focused skills applicable to specific areas of work. Both primary and secondary education must provide the tools and skills needed for lifelong learning.

5. Make the technical and financial support and training of teachers a priority in educational reconstruction and reform efforts.

6. Support regional education networks to help rebuild education in failing and collapsed states.

7. Support further evaluation and research on the relationship between education, conflict, and peace. USAID should place a high priority on conducting evaluations of its education programs in conflict settings and in countries that are emerging from conflict. To advance the agency's conflict prevention work, it is critical to understand

- what educational interventions work
- how best to sequence them
- which specific donor efforts have succeeded in securing political commitment to building a peace-promoting educational system

Introduction

Background

Recent history has been scarred by a growing number of armed conflicts originating within states, often along ethnoreligious lines. Forty-four countries, comprising about 60 percent of the world's population, have experienced conflict during the past 30 years (Haughton 2002, 226). This alarming figure has spurred international scholars and development practitioners to examine the factors that may fuel such conflicts, as well as steps that could be taken to help rebuild peaceful coexistence and prevent future violence. Many international donors have also become convinced of the need to examine these issues as part of their own efforts to provide humanitarian and development aid to fragile and postconflict states.

Education can contribute to strengthening social cohesion and social capital when it reinforces the customs, values, and cultural knowledge of all members of a community.

Historically, education provided in state-sanctioned public schools has been popularly viewed as an unambiguously positive force. As a result, in failing or failed states and postconflict situations, donors' programming for public schools often proceeds without a thorough analysis of the implications of a country's choices regarding educational policies, processes, and structures. However, the widely held assumption that state-sponsored public education has only positive effects has increasingly been challenged. While there is ample evidence showing that public education can serve as a stabilizing factor following conflict, there is also a growing body of literature documenting ways that it can intentionally or unintentionally sow the seeds of future violence.

Public education's contribution to social cohesion and peace is well documented.

Public education is the most visible of all public services and can help stabilize a wounded society. In the immediate postconflict period, the resumption of education signals a return to normalcy. It offers a beacon of hope to families who desire a future for their children beyond the current disaster:

> For child victims, psychologists and experienced relief workers agree that one of the most effective means of relieving psychological repercussions from a crisis is to create a secure, caring, and structured environment in which children can thrive. Regular schooling can play a key role in establishing such an environment. (Foster 1995, 5–6)

In addition, education has an important role to play in pulling communities

together. In the process, it helps societies to build social capital, strengthening the networks, norms, trust and respect, mutual understanding, and cooperative spirit that permit people to achieve their goals.

Many scholars agree that education can contribute to strengthening social cohesion and social capital when it reinforces the customs, values, and cultural knowledge of all members of a community.[1] For example, in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Austria, and Hungary, an educational initiative produced textbooks that studied historical and cultural parallels among the four countries. Using these materials has helped increase cultural understanding between these nations (Nkaké 1999, 23).

Public education can also assist in reducing discrimination through more inclusive policies. Before the 1994 war and genocide in Rwanda, admission to school was determined using a discriminatory quota system based on ethnic and regional criteria. The postconflict education system prioritized equity and made all forms of educational discrimination illegal (Obura 2003, 17–18).

As a recent World Bank report emphasizes:

> Postconflict education reconstruction is centrally concerned with conflict prevention to ensure that education does not contribute to the likelihood of relapse into violence and actively builds social cohesion to help prevent it.…One of the most significant contributions education can make is to help to reduce the risk of violence in at-risk countries. (World Bank 2005, 32)

Public education can also contribute to conflict and war.

> *Horrible crimes committed against the non-Serb population of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Serb-Montenegrin aggressors and domestic chetniks were aimed at creating an ethnically cleansed area where exclusively Serb people would live. In order to carry out this monstrous idea of theirs, they planned to kill or expel hundreds of thousands of Bosniaks and Croats. …The criminals began to carry out their plans in the most ferocious way. Horror swept through villages and cities.…Looting, raping, and slaughters…screams and outcries of the people being exposed to such horrendous plights.…Europe and the rest of the world did nothing to prevent the criminals from ravaging and slaughtering innocent people.*
>
> *—1994 civic textbook for 12-year-olds in Bosnia; quoted in Heyneman 2003, 25–38*

UNICEF's groundbreaking report, *The Two Faces of Education in Conflict: Towards Peacebuilding Education for Children,* challenges the assumption that education always contributes positively to society. Indeed, it illustrates how "educational systems can be manipulated to drive a wedge between people, rather than drawing them closer together" (Bush and Saltarelli 2000, v).

National education policies, addressing matters ranging from where schools are located to who may teach, how teachers are assigned to schools, who may attend, what language is used for teaching, and how the curriculum is designed, can form the basis for education to serve as one of the factors that fuel tensions leading to conflict. Education policy may be designed to maintain or strengthen societal prejudices for political ends or as a legacy of local history. When Kosovo was still functionally a part of Serbia, the Serbian-run government promoted the use of one national language in education in an attempt to create "cultural homogenization" to build a common national identity. As part of this effort, the government "introduced an assimilation policy that eliminated Albanian as the language of school instruction and introduced [its] own curriculum and textbooks." Consequently, Albanian Kosovars set up alternative schools, and their anger about the assimilation policy contributed to the upsurge in violence (Sommers 2002, 1).

Education can also be used to "politicize identities in ways that allow diversity and cultural difference to become the basis for violent, protracted conflict" (Bush and Saltarelli 2000, vi). For example, the way "history" is presented in textbooks can contribute to fueling a climate of hostility and conflict among ethnoreligious groups. A review of the textbooks used during the 1970s and 1980s in segregated Sri Lankan schools revealed Sinhalese textbooks repeatedly referring to Tamils as historical enemies of the Sinhalese, while praising Sinhalese heroes who had defeated Tamils during ethnic conflicts. According to the review, textbooks also doctored historical facts by portraying Sinhalese Buddhists as the only true Sri Lankans, with

1 See Collier 2000, Stewart 2002, Colletta and Cullen 2000, and Glaeser et al. 2004, as well as Colletta, Lim, and Kelles-Vitanen 2001, 155.

Tamils, Muslims, and Christians depicted as nonindigenous and irrelevant to Sri Lanka's history (Nissan 1996, 36).

Teaching methods can also foster low self-esteem and sow the seeds of future conflict. Rigid instruction, such as exclusively rote learning coupled with a fear of harsh punishment, can stunt students' critical thinking skills. In many developing countries, corporal punishment and humiliation are routine disciplinary measures that may contribute to bullying and aggressiveness in adults.

Even where efforts exist to eliminate negative stereotypes and discriminatory references in textbooks and curricula, minority students can still suffer at the hands of prejudiced teachers. In some cases, such values and attitudes are openly displayed. In other cases, they may be expressed in less obvious ways, such as not challenging students or failing to recognize and encourage individual talents.

Purpose of the Study

As noted above, international donors have only recently begun to focus on the ways public education during and after conflict may foster conditions for further violence instead of building sustainable peace. Because this is emerging knowledge and is scattered throughout numerous reports, the education policies, strategies, and programs of USAID and other donors have often been developed or supported without the benefit of a broad understanding of the relationship between education and conflict.

This study is intended to advance the agency's knowledge of

- public educational policies and practices that may have fueled the tensions feeding state fragility or conflict in the past
- educational initiatives that appear to help lay a foundation for future peace

Its findings will help inform the design of USAID's educational policies, strategies, and programs in fragile states and those emerging from conflict. Without careful consideration of these lessons, USAID could increasingly discover that its efforts have failed to mitigate future conflicts and, in some cases, may inadvertently have played a role in fueling them. As education researchers Alan Smith and Tony Vaux point out, "It may be agreed that external interventions should 'do no harm,' but to reach such a simple objective often requires extensive and persistent analysis" (2003, 4).

This study directly supports the agency's conflict management and mitigation policy by giving USAID staff and partners a substantive resource to use in carrying out one of the policy's main principles—that of applying a conflict "lens" when designing, implementing, or assessing all assistance programs.

Methods and Limitations

The findings and country case examples in this report emerged from a four-month review of over 300 documents and interviews conducted with a series of knowledgeable practitioners in the fields of education and conflict.[2] The study examined state-sponsored educational policies and practices of more than 40 countries that represented a broad spectrum of country conditions, ranging from those still racked by conflict to those that have not only emerged from conflict but have experienced stability and peace for many years. Due to time and resource constraints, this study did not research the roles that private, nonformal, and religious education may play in promoting conflict or peace.

This methodology posed considerable limitations on what information could be collected. Without fieldwork and primary research, it was impossible to tap into the array of unpublished documents, practicing experts, ministry of education staff, teachers, other developing-country professionals, parents, and students that could have shed light on the topic. Full exploration of the topic's complexities was also precluded by the brief time allotted for this study. An additional constraint was the paucity of published reports documenting the results of related educational initiatives. All these factors limit the conclusions that can be drawn from this study.

Before the report was finalized, a draft was widely distributed to USAID's education, conflict, and policy staff for review. The review generated a rich set of comments, which led to numerous revisions that strengthened the final report. Not all suggestions could be followed. Some reviewers proposed adding information on related topics, such as the role of private, nonformal, and religious education in the unfolding of peace or conflict. Since such institutions are a growing and powerful force and appear to be likely contributors to either

2 Documents included books, articles in scholarly journals, newspaper and magazine articles, donor and think-tank literature, government publications, and nongovernmental organization (NGO) publications.

conflict- or peace-promoting conditions in many countries, they were originally included in the scope of the study. It became clear early on, however, that focusing on both public and nonpublic schooling would have required reviewing a much larger body of literature than originally planned, exceeding the allotted level of effort in terms of both time and resources. To respond to the well-founded interest in this topic, however, the agency should consider conducting similar studies that cover learning institutions outside the formal public education system.

Other reviewers suggested adding additional and more specific information on interventions that have proven effective and how they might best be sequenced. This would no doubt have resulted in an even stronger and more useful final report, and the study made an intensive effort to draw out such information. Unfortunately, however, a coherent base of evaluative research on these topics has yet to emerge in the literature. While the situation is understandably unsatisfying in terms of meeting the practical needs of policymakers and practitioners, the draft report included whatever evidence-based guidance on interventions and sequencing was available in the more than 300 documents reviewed during this study. These deficiencies were addressed in the recommendation for additional evaluative research on the relationship between education, conflict, and peace.

A final issue raised by a few reviewers was the need to address one of the most obvious biases in many education systems: "the treatment (and often non-treatment) of girls," as one put it. There is no doubt that educational policies and practices in many of the countries studied have done too little about the barriers keeping girls from enrolling in school or completing their education. Even more troubling, many of them have permitted the violence and abuse that girls increasingly experience in and around school. Similar mistreatment or neglect of other groups, based on ethnicity, social class, religion, and so forth, has been identified in the report as helping to fuel tensions leading to violence in many countries—so why has it failed to include a specific discussion of girls? The omission was not an oversight. Rather, it reflects the finding that despite the scandalous treatment of girls—as a group in themselves, as well as a subset of every ethnic, religious, or social group victimized by divisive educational policies and practices—there is simply no evidence that anyone has been moved by their plight to take up arms on their behalf.

While this study by no means captures the full breadth of the educational practices and policies that contribute either to fueling conflict or to laying a foundation for peace, it does, nevertheless, make a substantial contribution to the understanding of this critical topic. The findings, conclusions, and recommendations presented in this report aim to stimulate discussion and debate among policymakers and practitioners on how best to tackle the pressing educational challenges faced in fragile states and postconflict settings.

Public Education: Key Contributions to Conflict or Peace

Public education, by itself, does not cause conflict or bring about peace. It does, however, play a role in fostering conditions that promote conflict or peace—a role that involves the complex interplay of a dynamic set of factors. To understand some of these factors, the study examined some of the educational policies and practices of more than 40 countries, noting how they evolved over time within the context of their political and social landscape, as well as any convincing evidence linking them to conflict or peace. At the heart of this examination was a search for patterns that may explain why some public education systems appear to aggravate the conditions that lead to conflict while others seem to foster the conditions that build sustainable peace.

How authorities gain and share power, what principles guide them, how they raise and spend money, how they decide who gets educated, and what is taught can play a crucial role in fostering the conditions that promote either peace or war.

The patterns that emerged seemed to point to a number of policies and practices associated with educational equity, the language of instruction, and what students learn in the classroom, which individually and collectively can contribute to future conflict or future peace. This chapter discusses some of these policies and practices and presents country case examples to help illustrate their potential role in fueling conflict- or peace-conducive conditions.

These policies and practices, however, must be understood in a larger context: educational governance. How authorities gain and share power, what principles guide them, how they raise and spend money, how they decide who gets educated, and what is taught can play a crucial role in fostering the conditions that promote either peace or war. This chapter thus begins with a brief section on the governance of education and its implications for harmony or violence.

Governance of Education

Educational policies and their associated practices, like those in most other public sectors, are part of an evolving process, guided by and ultimately based on a series of explicit and implicit choices made by the provider and key architect of public education—the government. The study identified a number of objectives and underlying factors that seem to drive some governments to choose policies and practices conducive to conflict and others to choose those likelier to promote peace. A number of these objectives and factors are discussed in this section.

It is popularly assumed that governments provide education primarily so that students can acquire knowledge

and develop skills. This would certainly serve the utilitarian interests of governments and citizens. Governments need a steady supply of skilled workers to carry out basic functions and contribute to a country's economic development. At the same time, citizens need knowledge and skills to manage their daily tasks and find gainful work. The primacy of this objective also appears to be the assumption underlying the vast sums of money donors spend on strengthening public education systems around the world. But is this assumption really justified?

Several studies suggest that the objectives of public education are broader. They appear to fall into the following functional areas:

- *academic:* provide children with the enabling skills of permanent literacy, numeracy, and thinking
- *economic:* supply educated workers who possess skills and attitudes that make them productive
- *social:* transmit commonly held cultural knowledge, values, and attitudes
- *political:* instill loyalty and support for the state, its laws, and its leadership, and nurture good governance[3]

While the emphasis placed on each of these functional areas and how they are addressed in policies and practices varies from country to country, many political and social scientists maintain that the control of socialization is a high priority for all governments worldwide. According to economist Lant Pritchett:

> Schooling is not just about skills but also socialization—the transmission of beliefs, attitudes, values, and patterns of behavior. Governments are not, and cannot be, indifferent about the socialization of their citizens. While skills can be contracted out, controlling socialization requires direct control of the schools. (Pritchett 2003, 2–3)

Pritchett's point is clearly visible in how and what children learn in classrooms around the world. To develop a basic skill such as reading, a child must learn by reading something—and the content of that "something" inherently conveys values, beliefs, and attitudes.

The same is true of the content taught in any number of subjects. Classes in history, for example, focus on a series of stories that are generally presented as factual accounts of events in the past. However, as Bush and Saltarelli point out, "'history' is a process by which certain stories and events are highlighted while others are minimized or ignored" (2000, 12). This is witnessed in the differing and often conflicting accounts of historical events presented across classrooms around the world. These differences reflect what a nation's decision-makers want its young people to believe, value, and feel, and they show the process of socialization at work. Values and attitudes are also transmitted through other elements of a school setting, such as the nature of classroom instruction and the interactions between teachers and students and among students.

Not only is it impossible to design an education system that helps students develop skills without conveying messages that influence their beliefs and attitudes, there is little doubt that socialization messages serve the interests of all governing authorities. Pritchett (2003, 1) maintains that

> If citizens disagree about beliefs—about who should legitimately rule, about the desirable economic system, about the justice of the distribution of wealth, about loyalty to nation (versus religion, ethnicity, clan, kin), about religion, about political ideology—then regimes (the individuals or groups that exercise state power) will directly produce schooling in order to control instruction in beliefs.

Education's positive and negative contributions to society tend to mirror the dynamic interaction between economic, cultural, social, and political factors in a country and the political agenda of those who exercise state power. For example, Rwanda's prewar education system was described in a postwar UNICEF report as having "to a large extent reflected the destructive divisions in Rwandan society." The minister of education confirmed that "it is generally felt that the education system…failed the nation" (Obura 2003, 45). Many of these "destructive divisions" within Rwandan society continued even after the war. Nonetheless, the political agenda of the new postconflict government appears to be directing many of their educational policies and practices in support of social cohesion, by contrast with that of preconflict governments. For example,

3 See Collier 2000b; Stewart 2002; Pritchett 2003; World Bank 2000, 316; Glaeser 2004; Colletta and Cullen 2000; Sinclair 2002.

not only did the new government expunge the discriminatory ethnic- and region-based quota system for entry into schools, it made all forms of educational discrimination illegal.

After being plagued by over 18 years of civil war, the government in Uganda also made a critical policy choice to begin rebuilding trust between local communities and the authorities. Recognizing that transparency is paramount to rebuilding such trust, the government required that all fund transfers from the central government to district education offices be published in newspapers and broadcast on radio. Furthermore, primary schools were required to post a public notice of all inflows of funds to the school. Within three years, 90 percent of nonsalary funds provided by the central government were reaching schools, compared to 13 percent before the program. This policy has been effective in reducing rampant corruption and mismanagement in the school system (Reinikka and Svenson 2001).

Governance of Education during Conflict

During conflict, ministries of education often at least partially lose control over the governance of education. Where state capacity to deliver education weakens, schooling may be organized by a religious group, a military or insurgency group, a breakaway government, or the community. In cases where education ministries continue to maintain some control over the governance of education, education delivered by nongovernmental entities may be based on ministry policies. For example, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), religious organizations have delivered education for decades. During the recent crisis, most primary education, including primary-school teacher training, has been delivered through church-run schools, with state officials providing some guidance on the official curriculum, textbooks, and certification.

In many cases, however, the groups delivering education reinterpret the academic, cultural, political, and economic functions of education to fit their own agendas, both in deciding which functional areas to emphasize and in choosing how they are addressed. In Nicaragua, the Sandinistas used the education system to press their socialist agenda:

> Believing education to be a political mission, the Sandinista administration deployed a variety of instruments to instill ideological contents via the classroom. In addition to mobilizing over 80,000 young people and thousands of teachers to carry their message through literacy classes …literacy materials developed were designed to gain legitimacy for the Sandinista ideology and its values and symbols. (Marques and O'Bannon 2003, 5)

During the conflict in Kosovo, ethnic Albanians established a parallel education system, which "constituted the centerpiece of…Kosovar Albanian resistance to Serbian government dominance and repression as well as making education among Albanians an explicitly political endeavor" (Sommers and Buckland 2004, 41).

Role of International Donors and Agencies and Governance

During and after periods of conflict, a variety of international donors and agencies arrive on the scene to provide assistance for education. Often, such aid has played a critical role in stabilizing and supporting educational governance (see box). However, donors' efforts can also exacerbate the challenges that authorities face when "governing" education.

Blurred lines of responsibility and lack of coordination among donors often cause chronic tension in the field during

Regaining Government Authority over Education in El Salvador

During the conflict in El Salvador, when the government did not have the capacity to effectively govern the education system, communities established and ran their own "popular schools" or "people's schools" *(escuelas populares)* throughout the country. After the conflict, donors helped the government regain and legitimize its authority over rural education by keeping many aspects of these schools intact.

To take back control of the rural schools, the Ministry of Education created the Education with Community Participation Program (EDUCO) with support from the World Bank and other donors, including USAID. EDUCO effectively and quickly hired teachers, decreased teacher absenteeism, increased learning time, expanded community participation and responsibility, and raised rural school attendance.

Source: Meza, Guzman, and De Varela 2004, 1–4

and after conflict. Tension also stems from the differences between education activities sponsored by humanitarian or military sources and those sponsored by development agencies. The former often imply a quick-action, quick-retreat approach, while the latter are more likely to be part of an integrated effort focused on long-term goals. The diverse agendas, the need for each actor to justify its funding, and the differing organizational frameworks of those seeking to assist education during crisis often complicate postconflict educational reconstruction work. Ministries of education are left to bridge the confusion at precisely the time when their capacity is under severe pressure.

During the postconflict period, weakened ministries of education often face much heavier flows of foreign aid than before, coming from a variety of donors. Ministries need to establish a coherent, structured set of educational priorities to coordinate donor activities and to constructively align donor funds for education, but in many cases, they lack the institutional ability to do so. As a result, international agencies and donors often drive the education agenda. And though donor staff may claim that the agenda is in accord with the government's education system, the implementation phase may tell a different story.

International education consultant Jacques Hallak maintains that while "the government often adopts the international agenda, namely Education for All, emphasizing basic education, gender equity, literacy and curriculum reforms" (World Bank 2003, 11), EFA is not uncontested by education ministries, especially concerning equity issues. Furthermore, Hallak continues,

> [As regards] translating the idea of "learning together, living together" into textbooks, curriculum and classroom practice, recent evidence from donor-financed programmes in postconflict countries or countries with latent conflict situations points to a considerably underestimated lack of realism and pragmatism in policies and measures in the international agenda for education, often dictated by respectable, universally accepted considerations without the capacity and political environment needed to implement them. (ibid., 35)

When donors assume a greater role in management, education is more likely to denationalize and lose focus. According to Hallak, this may result in "despondency [and] de-motivation of education stakeholders who may strongly resent donor interference in setting educational priorities and agenda." Hallak notes that even theoretically peace-friendly approaches may be subverted to serve partisan ends, thereby setting the stage for conflict:

> Although participatory processes can facilitate continuity between postconflict and subsequent periods by stressing ownership, they are often used as an excuse by faction (or gang) leaders in the period immediately following the conflict to seize power and prevent the building of a national consensus through political leadership. Even in countries not affected by conflict, examples abound of local bosses or chieftains hijacking participation in rural areas to serve their own agenda. (ibid., 34)

As many have observed, too often education becomes a battleground where different camps struggle for the hearts and minds of the community and its students.

Equity

Equity in education provides equal opportunity for all people to learn through schooling. Equity is, therefore, at the heart of education's power to help build or diminish social cohesion.

Exclusionary and discriminatory educational policies and practices have been prominent in many of the conflict-ridden countries examined during this study. An uneven distribution of educational resources, quota systems, and examination systems that promote failure and economic exclusion are some of the methods employed by ruling elites to reserve access to quality education for particular ethnic or social groups and deny access to others. Shavit Yossi describes how ruling elites preserve their privilege of education to enhance their qualifications for future job opportunities at the expense of less privileged groups:

> In ethnically stratified societies, privileged ethnic groups usually attain higher average educational levels than members of subordinate ethnic groups. Several factors underlie this pattern. First, educational attainment is enhanced by a privileged background, and students from advantaged ethnic origins benefit from the educational, occupational and economic

attainments of their parents. Second, dominant social groups use the educational system to secure their privilege across generations. Because of their cultural and political domination, educational selection is based on criteria that favor their offspring. Third, dominant ethnic groups may control the political processes by which school systems are funded and structured and are able to promote those schools attended by their children or their own education districts. As a result of these factors, students from advantaged social origins do better in school and obtain more schooling which, in turn, enables them to obtain more desirable occupations. (cited in Bush and Saltarelli 2000, 9)

Throughout history, there has been educational discrimination based on language, caste, gender, ethnicity, religion, appearance (skin color), or other intangible identities. The consequences

Education and Conflict in Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone's colonial legacy included a political and economic system where rural labor supported urban lifestyles and local elites both benefited from and collaborated with the former colonial power (Great Britain) to the detriment of others. Farm and diamond exports built wealth for politically connected elites, while those not in a position to take lucrative public sector jobs were marginalized by poor education. Mismanagement and corruption were commonplace, and as Cream Wright of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) explains, those in power were "under strong pressure to channel national resources for the benefit of relatives, friends, kinspeople and constituents" on a scale that pushed the nation to the brink of bankruptcy (Wright 1997, 19).

During the colonial period, education was not the ruling power's focus; schooling was largely provided by church groups. Even after the country gained its independence, however, only a small percentage of eligible students had access to education. Most dropped out after primary school, and less than 1 percent went beyond secondary (ibid., 21).

Education inequities reflected and supported Sierra Leone's weak and corrupt state systems. Politicians in government positions favored groups and regions from their power base and used internationally funded education projects to gain favor for their constituencies. Sierra Leone's was an elitist system of education, though it was not based solely on wealth or social class, given that political patronage was largely responsible for entry into school; the students chosen were from different social, economic, and ethnic groups.

As Sierra Leone's economy stagnated, high school and university graduates found that the good jobs once guaranteed to anyone with a diploma were less and less available. Many found themselves jobless or underemployed, with little more to show for their efforts than a sense of frustrated entitlement (ibid., 20–22). The most serious flaw in the education system was the complete failure to develop educational opportunities for those who dropped out. Notes Wright, "Those who do not survive and rise to the top of this narrow and competitive system simply became 'forgotten aspirants' in a very elitist educational process." It is hardly surprising, she adds, to find "'forgotten aspirants'…as combatants on both sides of the rebel war in Sierra Leone" (ibid., 21). An article in *The Economist* summed up the reasons thus (March 2, 1996, cited ibid.):

> War enables young people to live by the gun, and to live better. Looting is far more profitable than waiting half-educated for a job that will never come. So the young joined up—rebel army or government army, no matter—in their thousands.

During the civil war, the RUF rebels displayed a particular animus toward institutions of education. Wright (24) reports that while health centers, factories, shops, and homes were often attacked and looted for goods and supplies, "in every town or major settlement attacked …schools have been vandalised and destroyed for no obvious reason," usually with no attempt at looting. The well-known Bunumbu Teachers College, taken over by rebels early in the war, was so thoroughly ravaged that an observer remarked after its liberation: "Whoever did this wanted to make sure that nothing called education could ever take place here again" (cited ibid., 25).

Paradoxically, RUF numbered many ex-students and even ex-teachers in its ranks. One of its leadership's few explicit demands was for free education, and young ex-combatants emerging from the conflict named education and training as their top priority. The attacks on the schools appear to have been a reaction to their symbolic role as manifestations of a system that was seen as corrupt, authoritarian, and elitist rather than a rejection of education per se (ibid., 25–26).

of such discrimination in the modern world are quite serious, as Bush and Salterelli point out: "Because education has increasingly become a highly valued commodity, its unequal allocation has been a serious source of friction that has frequently led to confrontation" (2000, 9).

When children and youth are denied access to quality education, they are also denied the economic opportunities and material benefits available to those who are better educated and equipped to compete for decent jobs. With limited access to productive and legal employment, many find their needs for money and status met by joining gangs and militias that perpetrate violent conflicts (e.g., Sudan, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan, Central America in the 1980s, Central Europe, various parts of Asia, etc.). Economist Paul Collier conducted a study of conflict countries and found that, on average, only 45 percent of young males were enrolled in secondary schools. He also found that countries with only 10 percentage points more youth enrolled in school—e.g., 55 percent instead of 45 percent—cut the risk of conflict from 14 percent to around 10 percent (Collier 2000a, 7). The example of Sierra Leone (see box, previous page) demonstrates this downward spiral that was partly fueled from the lack of access to education.

Discriminatory practices are widespread in many parts of the world. A recent report by the International Crisis Group about youth at risk in Central Asia draws a link between corruption, inequitable access to schooling, and potential instability. The report concludes that corruption and related barriers to education, in tandem with economic decline and increasingly dictatorial governments, are among the main issues that may contribute to conflict in Central Asia. For example, the bribe to enroll in some of the most prestigious universities in Tashkent is reputedly as much as $10,000 (International Crisis Group 2003, 5). Moreover, school enrollment has dropped sharply in these countries, which had near–100 percent levels of school attendance and literacy during the Soviet period. In Uzbekistan, preprimary school enrollment has plunged about 40 percent since 1989 (ibid., 6). The reasons for the decline include severe cuts in school funding, especially in rural areas, as well as growing economic hardships that prompt parents to keep their children at home, where they can contribute to family income.

These issues create disparities in young Central Asians' qualifications for decent jobs, which, in turn, exacerbate inequity and inequality. While even the well educated now have difficulty finding appropriate jobs, those with poor schooling can hope for little besides casual labor and farm work. The region's population bulge has created a growing youth cohort that feels more and more disenfranchised, a situation that nurtures the conditions for conflict. According to the report:

> Having little or nothing to lose, young people are more likely to join underground and illegal movements calling for radical changes. In Central Asia, this potential for radicalization of youth is already visible in the case of the Islamist radical group, Hizb ut-Tahrir, which has recruited heavily among the disillusioned. (ibid., 6)

Ethnicity is often another major factor behind educational inequities. In Sri Lanka during the 1970s, for example, strict quotas on access to tertiary education reduced the number of Tamil students gaining admission to universities. A World Bank study notes: "These developments, together with the depressed economic conditions and high unemployment of the middle 1970s, provided fertile grounds for the birth of youthful militant Tamil separatist groups" (World Bank 1998, 128).

Ethnicity was the basis for inequitable access in several other settings as well. During the conflict in Kosovo, for example, Serbian authorities prevented many ethnic Albanian students from attending school by lowering quotas for Albanian Kosovars in secondary schools (Bush and Saltarelli 2000, 9). In Rwanda and Burundi, the Tutsi were openly favored and the Hutu were actively discriminated against. In Rwanda, this policy had its roots in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, when the Catholic Church set up special schools to educate the Tutsi as support staff for the Belgian colonial government and to be future leaders of the country. The Hutu, on the other hand, only received enough education to work in menial jobs. In Burundi, according to R. Stavenhagen, "by 1988 only a tiny fraction of the Hutu population had the requisite skills to work in the modern sectors of the economy" owing to restrictions on admitting Hutu children to secondary schools (1996, cited ibid., 10).

In addition to class and ethnicity, educational discrimination and segregation can be based on race, religion, gender, or

language. This was exemplified in apartheid South Africa, where

> schools for white students were funded generously, while those for black students were systematically denied adequate facilities, textbooks, and quality teachers. At the height of apartheid, per pupil spending in white schools was ten times that in the African schools. (Fiske and Ladd 2004, 3)

These practices are used to mediate access to power and to protect one group against another. Some countries are attempting to eliminate policies and practices that have resulted in educational inequities. There have been some positive results, but as the situation in Northern Ireland illustrates (see box), it can take years and years to reverse these inequities.

Discrimination against the Roma in areas such as employment, education, and healthcare is common in many European countries. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, for example, Romani children are denied access to schools

Integrated Schools in Northern Ireland

Between the 1920s and the 1970s, education clearly reflected the deep divisions between the Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland. Protestant children attended state schools almost exclusively, while Catholic children attended schools provided by the Catholic Church. While the government gradually increased funding for Catholic schools between the 1930s and the 1970s, inequities in resource allocation remained, with negative consequences for Catholic students. According to conflict researcher Anthony M. Gallagher:

> Catholic school-leavers in Northern Ireland have been shown to have, on average, lower qualifications than their Protestant counterparts and hence reduced job opportunities. A government-sponsored study in 1973 found that this stemmed, in good part, from unequal funding arrangements. State schools, overwhelmingly attended by Protestants, received full state funding, whereas independent Catholic schools had to rely largely on their own resources. The exclusionary character of the political system and the corresponding state mechanisms were based on the maintenance of the Protestant ascendancy that had taken firm root over the four decades since the partition of Ireland. The "social contract" between the state and the majority Protestant community represented a collaboration to maintain a particular social, political and economic order of exclusion. (summarized in Bush and Saltarelli 2000, 15)

Northern Ireland remains a deeply divided country. The peace process has broken down several times over the past decade, and trust and tolerance between Catholics and Protestants remain low. While official school segregation for Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland ended in 1991, more than 90 percent of students continue to attend segregated schools. Concern over the impact of this institutional divide has led to the formation of mixed or "integrated" schools explicitly aimed at bridging this gap. As described by the Ireland Funds, which supports a few such schools:

> Integrated education brings together in one school, pupils, teachers and governors, in roughly equal numbers, from both Catholic and Protestant traditions. It is about bringing children up to live as adults in a pluralist society, recognizing what they hold in common as well as what separates them, and accepting both. (Ireland Funds website)

The first integrated school was founded with 28 pupils in 1981 in Belfast. According to the Irish Funds website, there are now about 54 integrated schools in Northern Ireland, educating over 40,000 students (6 percent of the total school population). Though there has not been a great deal of research into the impact that these schools have had on Northern Irish society, a recent study of 159 graduates of integrated schools found that "past pupils have an increased respect for diversity, a new 'integrated' identity and a greater number of mixed friends due to attendance at an integrated school" (McGlynn 2003, 1).

Another recent study revealed considerable variation in integration strategies among schools; the authors categorized the approaches as "passive, reactive, or proactive." Education researcher Claire McGlynn comments that certain strategies presented the risk of "integration being perceived as an add-on, rather than as an integral part of schooling," a perception that could lead to less successful outcomes (ibid., 4). She calls for further evaluation to determine the future design and direction of integrated education., as well as public money for integrated schools, which now must depend largely on private fundraising.

These schools plainly respond to a deeply felt need on the part of many Northern Irish parents. Despite the rapid growth in the number of integrated schools, hundreds of applicants have had to be turned away annually in recent years for lack of places.

or forced to attend segregated "gypsy" schools. Governments and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are working to improve the situation for the Roma (see box), but alleviating these deeply ingrained societal pressures will take time and persistence.

Inequities in the education system, as in the cases of Rwanda and Sierra Leone, often reflect quite explicit policies directing the provision of education based on such factors as political patronage and membership in a certain ethnic group. A policy to foster equity in education access must be equally explicit. For education to be equitable, according to Bush and Saltarelli, "the policy environment must be right, there must be an appropriate methodology for evaluating local needs, and proper monitoring and evaluation must be in place" (2000, 9). For example, an important component of equity is that all students have a nearby school to attend. To achieve this, there must be a clear school placement policy in place, along with accurate information and reporting systems to determine where schools are needed and to ensure that they are sited equitably. These conditions must also be in place to ensure the fair distribution of teachers and teaching and learning materials. As Smith and Vaux point out, "Monitoring may also provide the basis for the development of education policies to address inequities as a means of building greater trust between groups in conflict" (2003, 26).

Education and the Roma in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Many-Layered Challenges

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Roma are not considered citizens, they are much more subject to loss of property, denial of public services, racist violence, and state-condoned abuse at the hands of the police than non-Roma inhabitants, according to a February 2004 report by the European Roma Rights Center (178–201). Education is a particular concern: the report found that Romani children have much less access to education than non-Romani ones, due not only to poverty, displacement, and distance, but also to a host of social barriers. For example, Romani children are often denied admission to school, refused appropriate documentation, forced to attend religious schooling, or not given credit for schooling in other countries. Many drop out in primary school, and very few continue to secondary school. One study also found that Roma are much more likely to be taken out of mainstream education and placed in "special education" classes. There they are likely to receive a substandard education, thus perpetuating a cycle of exclusion and a propensity to be victims or perpetrators of conflict.

On the positive side, there are some instances of helpful political interventions in Bosnia-Herzegovina. These include some preparatory schools, schools for older school repeaters, and even a documented Romani school board member in one of the local districts. Often, however, the education system mirrors society's view of the Roma and treats them accordingly. In recent years, the Bosnian Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees has been working on these issues with the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the end of February 2004 they introduced an action plan, retroactive to the beginning of the 2004–005 school year, to meet the educational needs of Roma and other national minorities. To improve Romani access to education, the relevant authorities are responsible for these actions:

- promoting systemic change to ensure that the Roma's educational needs are met
- removing financial and administrative barriers to school enrollment and completion for Romani children, with special funding allocated in 2004 and progressively increased as conditions allow
- preserving the Romani language and culture
- garnering the support and participation of Romani parents and communities
- increasing the representation of Romani teaching staff
- sensitizing non-Romani teaching staff to the needs of Romani students

For these efforts to succeed—from both the educational and the conflict-avoidance perspective—educational programmers need to take into account the issues that contribute to exclusion and lack of access for the Roma and similar minorities. Problems include poverty, a substantial number of older students, distance from schools, frequent displacement, language difficulties, and lack of official status or documentation (European Roma Rights Center website).

Language

Language is the foundation upon which all ideas are shaped and emotions expressed between people. Through their language, individual linguistic groups communicate their sense of culture, history, and personal identity. Language is often considered "an essential element in the maintenance of ethnic and cultural identity" (Bush and Saltarelli 2000, 11). It is not surprising, therefore, that choices made regarding the language of instruction and how to treat other languages are complex and can be extremely contentious. These choices must be made carefully, since they can play a role in contributing to greater social cohesion or disintegration, as well as peace or conflict.

National Language Policies

For centuries multiethnic countries have chosen one "national" language as the language of instruction, considering this move an important part of nation-building. The United States and France, for example, have had some success in promoting civic identity this way. In France,

> becoming a French citizen has meant that French was the only language used in schools, administration, the army, and public life in general. While the dominance of the French language in France appears "natural" today, it is in fact the result of deliberate ethnic engineering. Despite some minority protest, it has been a successful policy of assimilation. (Harris and Reilly 1998, 113)

This language policy has also been somewhat successful in helping to build a national identity in developing countries. In Tanzania, a country with over 100 indigenous languages, Kiswahili was chosen as the national language after independence in 1961. Choosing an indigenous language as the language of instruction for primary education was largely driven by a move to increase access to basic education, which "was perceived as a key means of promoting social cohesion" (Rubagumya, Okombo, and Haloui 1997, chapter 1).

In many cases, however, an assimilation language policy can be experienced as repressive. In some countries, such policies have resulted in considerable resistance and may have contributed to fueling tensions that led to conflict. This appears to have been the case in Serbia in the 1990s, when the government reversed the Tito-era policy allowing ethnic Albanian Kosovars to be taught in their own language (see box). Another example is the Turkish policy against using Kurdish in the schools, a restriction strongly resented by the Kurdish minority in eastern Turkey. Students have been subjected to corporal punishment for speaking Kurdish, and teachers have been fired for allowing Kurdish to be used in their classrooms (Harris and Reilly 1998, 11).

Depending on how other languages are treated, however, imposing a common language on a linguistically diverse population is not always experienced as a divisive act and, in some cases, may be a unifying choice. For example, despite the dozens of linguistic groups found in Senegal, the country has been relatively stable since declaring independence from France in 1960. According to Bush and Saltarelli (2000, 17–18):

Education and Conflict in Kosovo

"To counteract Albanian attempts to affirm their minority national identity, the Serbian government adopted a policy of assimilation, eliminating teaching programs in the Albanian language and introducing a unified curriculum and standardized textbooks across the country, measures that many blame for the ensuing strife. In its report to the Committee on the Rights of the Child in 1994, the Yugoslav government admitted that it was encountering major problems in the education of Albanian children in the provinces of Kosovo and Metohijo. Parents refused to send their children to schools working according to the 'legitimate programme of the Republic of Serbia.' Instead, Albanian children attended non-accredited parallel schools, treated by the Government as illegal. In an alternative report submitted to the Committee, a nongovernmental organization points out that a number of important institutions in the educational system were shut down in 1994, including the Institute for Albanology and the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo. Educational and professional activities in the Albanian language were no longer allocated government funds, teaching aids in Albanian were not published and the major Albanian publishing house, Rilindja, was closed down. The curriculum and the approach of teachers in the official schools were highly publicized. There can be no doubt that the schism in education in Kosovo was a major contributor to the upsurge of violence that reached its horrifying zenith in 1999."

Source: Bush and Saltarelli 2000, 7–8.

> One important factor in explaining the relative "ethnic peace" of that case is that after independence French was made the official language in a conscious effort to prevent linguistic conflict, while Diola, Malinke, Pular, Serer, Soninke and Wolof were declared to be national languages. Not only are these languages a critical part of the curriculum, they are also used in radio and television broadcasts and literacy campaigns. While Wolof could have been declared the country's official language, given its predominance, this was never attempted as it would have offended different ethnic groups.

Pluralistic Language Policies

In most conflict-prone countries where there are multiethnic and multilinguistic groups, there is a continual struggle between the need for a common language to promote national unity and pressure for a language policy in schools that reflects the country's diversity. As Bush and Saltarelli point out,

> While teaching a national language in schools is part of nation-building, there is no evidence that teaching minority languages necessarily diminishes a sense of political unity. In fact, compelling smaller groups to accept the linguistic dominance of the majority is a major cause of ethnic tensions and political instability, as has been seen in Kosovo. (ibid., 18)

As a result of internal as well as external pressure, combined with true political resolve to bring about real change in order to build sustainable peace, a number of governments emerging from conflict have made efforts to create a more inclusive language policy. A pluralistic society benefits from both the dominant and minority languages. The dominant language usually provides access to broader economic opportunities, while full incorporation of a pluralistic language policy can help foster respect and knowledge of majority and minority languages, improving tolerance and social cohesion and reducing marginalization and the chances of conflict. An inclusive language policy sends a political message to communities that each language is valued and that all cultures should be respected in the classroom. Knowledge of more than one language provides students with an opportunity to view life from different perspectives. "For this reason," Stephanie Schell-Faucon points out, "it is particularly important to promote mother-tongue and foreign language skills in conflict areas and in phases of latent conflict" (2002, 18–19).

Extensive research shows that providing minority children with the opportunity to learn in their "first" language (mother tongue) also has important learning and emotional benefits. Young children arrive at school with a large enough mother-tongue vocabulary to explore new ideas and concepts. They are ready to learn that sounds and words are organized according to rules and that marks on paper can be combined into words and sentences to communicate. Their readiness to learn how to read and write, however, is seriously compromised when they are expected to learn in an unfamiliar language.

To optimize learning, teachers and students should use students' mother tongue so that the students can acquire reading and writing skills first in their native language (Dutcher 2004a, 8–9). Mother-tongue instruction, particularly in early grades, improves students' chances of learning and provides a solid foundation for learning a second or third language (ibid., 8–9; Bush and Saltarelli 2000, 18). Equally important, it helps minority children to be proud of their mother tongue; it can bolster their self-esteem and enhance their sense of belonging. Conversely, when the mother tongue is not used, children may feel backward, inferior, and stupid. Thus, promoting the use of mother-tongue instruction can prepare students psychologically as well as academically for success in school, although adequate instruction in the dominant tongue is also critical.

Bilingual language policies have had positive results in a number of countries. In Slovenia, native-tongue Slovenian and Hungarian children are taught in mixed classrooms by bilingual teachers. The languages are taught as mother tongues and often used interchangeably in other subjects (Schell-Faucon 2002, 22). This approach is regarded as an important part of a long-standing broader policy guaranteeing substantial political and cultural rights to Slovenia's ethnic minorities (Zimic, 2000). In Namibia, with help from USAID, the government has been systematically implementing a mother-tongue policy in education to help overcome the inequities inherited from the apartheid era (Dutcher 2004b, 29, 35). In Bolivia, *Escuela para la vida* (School for Life), designed for children

in preprimary and primary school, is an intercultural education program based on bilingualism. According to education researcher Lucie-Mami Noor Nkaké:

> The objectives of the programme are to strengthen the cultural identity of the country through the preservation of indigenous languages, and to encourage greater participation by ethnic groups in national life and development…. It has had considerable success among the Guaraní, thanks to the active involvement of the Asamblea del Pueblo Guaraní (APG), which… has helped by maintaining vital links between the Guaraní communities and the State. (1999, 39)

Similar programs are a major, and growing, part of the educational picture in Guatamala, originating during that country's protracted civil war (see box).

In some cases, countries implement mother-tongue policies but fail to properly design the program. In 2000, a USAID evaluation team traveled to Macedonia and found some alarming trends. While the constitution guarantees the right to instruction in minority languages in primary and secondary education, the evaluation team found that instructors from minority ethnic groups, such as Albanian, were often ill prepared to teach. In addition,

> the team identified major deficiencies in the teaching of Macedonian, the country's official language, in the schools where instruction is in minority languages…. As a result, in many cases, minority students attending minority schools receive inadequate preparation in Macedonian language to be competitive for university admissions. (USAID 2000, iii)

Macedonia's sole official university gave instruction only in Macedonian, and although the team did not find evidence of discrimination against Macedonian-Albanians in university admissions, the team concluded that their poor preparation put them at a disadvantage and could exacerbate already high ethnic tensions.

These tensions culminated in a civil conflict early in 2001 that lasted several months. When peace was restored, one creative solution to the language problem in higher education appeared in the form of a new university, South East European University (SEEU), placed in the heart of the ethnic Albanian section of Macedonia. Explicitly multicultural, the university offers instruction in three languages—Albanian, Macedonian, and English. It stresses an international

Language Policy in Guatemala

In 1980, when Guatemala's 30-year civil war was at its midpoint, USAID financed a pilot bilingual education project under which Mayan children in 40 rural schools were taught in both their mother tongue and Spanish during their first few years of schooling. The aims were to culturally validate Guatemala's long-repressed Mayan peoples while improving their chances of educational success and consequent economic and social advancement. Both goals were considered important peacebuilding components.

Early evaluations showed improved retention rates in the pilot schools. In1985, the program expanded to 400 schools; by 1994, it encompassed 800 schools. The following year, with the conflict near its official end, the General Directorate of Bilingual and Intercultural Education (DIGEBI) was established to oversee the program. These developments represented a striking change from the policies of earlier decades under which Mayan languages and cultures were, at best, marginalized.

The Guatemala Peace Accords of 1996 stated that the government would promote the use of all indigenous languages in education. The aim was to ensure that children could read and write in their own language or the most common language in their community. The peace agreements also promoted bilingual and intercultural education.

The DIGEBI program now has approximately 1,200 bilingual schools enrolling about 230,000 students in 14 languages (there are other bilingual programs operating in Guatemala as well). Evaluations in recent years have concluded that the program helped Mayans preserve their language and identity during the period of conflict and that it also helped to stimulate development of a Mayan professional class. In addition, evaluators found bilingual schools more cost-effective than Spanish-only ones, even with the need for new materials and extra teacher training, since students repeated fewer grades. Graduates of both kinds of schools prefer bilingual education for their own children.

Source: Dutcher 2004a, 26, 69–72; 2004b, 5–8.

perspective, service learning, and a curriculum focused on studies supporting economic growth and interethnic understanding. Particular emphases include pedagogy (including language teaching), business, public administration, and information technology. SEEU graduated its first class in 2005, and student enrollment has now passed the 5,000 mark (USAID/Macedonia website; SEEU website).

Language Policy in Kenya

In the 1950s, the Ministry of Education in Kenya decided to change the language of instruction in the early grades from mother tongue to English. They felt that the poor performance of African and Asian children on the national examinations that were written in English could be explained by the use of mother tongue-—not English-—as the initial language of instruction. The policy spread rapidly throughout the country, yet there were many problems, including lack of resources for proper implementation, lack of trained teachers, and inadequate supervision and facilities. The end result was that there was no uniformity in the quality of education. By the 1970s, there was a growing consensus that instruction using the mother tongue was the best language policy for the early grades, and the policy was reversed.

It is important to educate all parties on the benefits and drawbacks of language choices. In this example, as in many other countries, there were a wide variety of opinions and a lack of information. This caused the policy to be changed and implemented numerous times, wasting time and resources.

Source: Muthwii 2002, 4–5.

While the results of mother-tongue language policies are typically positive, they may meet with resistance for a number of reasons (see box). Government officials may believe that the sooner citizens learn to speak the national language, the firmer their loyalty will be to the nation. Parents may lobby for instruction in the national language, thinking that earlier and longer instruction in the national language will help their children enjoy greater success at school and in future economic opportunities. Some educators in charge of budget planning may believe that children can learn another language (such as the national language) easily, so that it wouldn't be cost-effective to introduce minority languages into schools.

Language Policy Considerations

No one language policy will work in all situations. To have a peace-promoting impact, a language policy needs to be designed to work in a particular society, taking into consideration the situation and needs of minority groups and the balance of power between the dominant group and minority groups. Careful and participatory language planning increases the likelihood that the policy will promote social cohesion and not disenfranchise a segment of the student population.

Where language policies have been used successfully to contribute to the building of social cohesion, the underlying theme appears to be the government's commitment to the sustained effort required to bring about real change in the use and acceptance of minority languages. Governments that have succeeded have supported this effort in two realms: the political realm of crafting and promoting the new policy, and the technical realm of completing the linguistic research, training, and materials preparation necessary to properly teach languages. To slight the investment and time needed to do sensitive, careful work when language policy changes is to elicit cynicism and disappointment and to encourage conflict at a later time.

Curriculum and Instruction

Equitable access to schools and inclusive school language policies are critical elements of a peace-promoting public education system. However, what students learn and how they experience their interactions with teachers and classmates likely plays an equally decisive role in whether public education helps to maintain or undermine social cohesion and peace.

Examining the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values taught to students in the classroom can reveal whether public education is a cohesive or divisive influence. A useful starting point is to focus on topics and activities in the formal school curriculum, textbook content, and instructional methods. However, as a 2003 report by the Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information emphasizes (p. 11):

> Schools teach learners more than the topics introduced in the formal, written curricula. Students are also greatly influenced by their exposure to what experts have variously described as the

"implicit" or "hidden" curriculum. The hidden curriculum includes all those things in a school setting that send learners messages regarding what they should be doing and even how they should be thinking.

This section examines the kinds of messages, both formal and hidden, that may play a role in promoting conflict or peace.

Content and Messages That May Promote Social Disintegration and Conflict

Curriculum content and other classroom messages may contribute to social disintegration and conflict when they emphasize the history, accomplishments, customs, values, and traditions of only one group in society; portray other groups in demeaning ways, as unequal to or a threat to the dominant group; reinforce existing stereotypes and prejudices; or promote the use of violence as an acceptable or even preferred strategy to resolve conflict. Such messages not only reflect but also reinforce existing divisions in society.

Bush and Saltarelli (2000, 15–16) see the possible results of these messages as damaging on many levels:

> Minority children often leave school feeling inferior, or at least convinced that the majority groups in their society consider them inferior. Equally dangerous, children of the majority groups learn to think of themselves as being better than others. They are not taught to respect the values and traditions of the minorities with whom they live. Minority children who drop out of school are left without the tools needed to realize their full potential in a world where literacy is becoming more and more essential for survival. Many children leave school with a profound distrust of the institutions of the State in which they live and, because of the poor quality of education they have received, they are particularly susceptible to the machinations of ethnic mobilizers. Their lack of preparation also makes them vulnerable to being institutionalized or coming into conflict with the law. On a societal level, the discrimination endured in schools can plant the seeds for ethnic divisions and conflict.

Apartheid education in South Africa is a classic example of a curriculum that reflected as well as influenced society as a whole. One South African parent described how the education system worked to divide the country by making blacks see themselves as inferior:

> You have to see yourself as the poorest of the poor because, according to the South African government, that is the way God has made you. Our education does not make you question this pre-supposed status. (Graham-Brown 1991, cited in Bush and Saltarelli 2000, 14)

The divided nation of Cyprus also has a strong history of using education for political ends, including transmitting negative messages about nondominant nationalities in the classroom in both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot education systems. Research on Greek Cypriot classes cites many examples:

> Teachers, in the course of history lessons, identify "Us" with the "glorious" Byzantine empire, and contrast "Us," who are "peace-loving" to "Them" (i.e., the Turks), who are "barbarians," "wild" and "war-like." In such a context the idea of respecting other cultures and valuing other identities as equals disappears into thin air. (Trimikliniotis 2004, 68)

The curriculum also affects immigrants and may hinder their positive integration into society.

As more and more non–Greek speaking students entered the education system, authorities decided to introduce a "bicultural" program for them. However, the former education minister

> rejected vehemently any move to create a genuine multicultural system that treated all cultures as equal and valuable stating that he would never even consider taking steps to "discolour Cypriot education, since Greek children of Cyprus need to know who they are and where they must go." (ibid., 67–68)

Another study of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot textbooks found a strong emphasis on each group's historical claims to the island, strengthening an "us versus them" mentality. In addition, many Turkish Cypriot teachers were fired or forced into early retirement because they disagreed with official educational policy—in particular, demanding that curricula be more "Cypriocentric,"

Curriculum and Conflict in Sri Lanka

"School systems can fashion views that lead to social cohesion, or they can do the opposite. In the case of Sri Lanka, pedagogical materials as early as the 1950s led to the opposite. The dominant historical image portrayed in textbooks was that of a glorious but embattled Sinhalese nation repeatedly having to defend itself and its Buddhist traditions from the ravages of Tamil invaders. National heroes were chosen for study whose reputations included having vanquished Tamils in ethnic-based wars. Segregated in their own schools, Tamils used textbooks emphasizing historical figures whose reputations included accommodation and compromise with the Sinhalese. In neither the Tamil nor the Sinhalese texts were there positive illustrations drawn from the other ethnic group. There were few attempts to teach about the contribution of Tamil kings to Buddhist tradition, or the links between Sinhalese kingdoms and Buddhist centers in India. Language texts were largely monocultural, with few positive references to other ethnic groups (Nissan, 1996).

"Because texts were culturally inflammatory and because there was no effective effort to balance the prejudice stemming from outside the classroom with more positive experiences, the Sri Lankan schools can be said to have achieved the reverse of what good public systems intend. Instead of laying a foundation for national cooperation and harmony, they helped lay the intellectual and attitudinal foundations for social conflict and civil war."

Source: Heyneman 2003, 25–38.

or centered on Cyprus and Cypriots as a whole, instead of "Turcocentric" (Hadjipavlou 2002, 200). All of these practices reinforce students' perceptions of the "threat" posed by a multicultural society.

Rwanda provides some of the strongest evidence that negative messages in a curriculum, combined with other inequitable educational policies, may not only reflect the existing divisions within a society but by reinforcing them can also contribute to the social disintegration of a country and to future conflict. After independence, the educational system perpetuated the prejudices and inequities of the colonial period: "It was characterized by and promoted injustice based on ethnicity, regionalism, gender disparity and religious discrimination, all of which contributed to the genocide of 1994" (UNESCO n.d.). Stereotyping was common, and "textbooks…emphasized the physical differences between the Hutu and the Tutsi, linking physical appearance and intellectual capacity according to prevailing racist doctrines" (Bush and Saltarelli 2000, 10).

When Estonia regained its independence in 1991 after over 50 years of occupation by the Soviet Union, ethnic Estonians expressed "a compelling demand to reassert Estonia as a historical community through a nationalist interpretation of the past" (Ahonen 2001, 183). Even though around 36 percent of the population is Russian, no minority narrative was included in the new curriculum. The existence of Russian-speaking Estonians was acknowledged only in "the story of the evil occupant, the Soviet Union" (ibid., 183).

This approach has fostered a feeling of alienation among ethnic Russian Estonians. A 1995 youth survey found that "while not identifying with the history of Estonia, [Russian students] were also less optimistic about the future of Estonia than the ethnic Estonians. They anticipated ethnic conflicts in the near future" (ibid., 189). The new curriculum did help to shape one national identity, but it excluded a significant percentage of Estonia's citizens and denied them an opportunity to feel a positive connection to their country's history. Although Estonia has enjoyed fairly consistent economic and political stability since independence, the long-term effect of these policies may threaten the country's social cohesion in the future.

Curriculum content that can contribute to social disintegration and violence does not always directly disparage a specific group. Throughout the world, the glorification of war and war heroes in classrooms is commonly used to ensure support for and participation in the military and its use to protect the interests of the nation (or to achieve other political goals). War and bloodshed is often the focus of history and even literature curricula, which does little to encourage attitudes of peace and tolerance (Bush and Saltarelli 2000, 13). Less obvious is reinforcement of the glamour connected to war by socializing girls to admire military uniforms and bravery in war much more than courageous leadership in civilian affairs.

Similarly, curriculum content can also help perpetuate the belief that relationships between different groups are intrinsically troubled and untrustworthy. A study of textbooks in Serbia found

that in accounts of conflicts involving "out-groups," "the preferred strategy was argumentative, backed up by violence and armed struggle" (Rosandic 2000, 19). According to the researcher, the following messages were repeated so frequently that they appeared to be "canonized rules":

> *Relationships between different social groups are, as a rule, conflictual.* Textbooks seldom mention cooperative relationships based on mutual interest, except for short-term alliances to strengthen one's own position when fighting a third party or group. Integrative mechanisms of in-group relationships are built on wariness and caution, and upon enmity toward other groups.
>
> *Retreat from a conflict is not considered or expected.* One should never yield to another. Yielding is a sign of weakness and most often leads to defeat.
>
> *Conflicts are resolved by force, including various forms of violence and armed struggle.* Chances for victory are greater if one has allies to strengthen one's position. Alliances are made or broken according to need and circumstance. (ibid., 19)

These messages were reinforced by the teachers in the study who "overwhelmingly believe that: (1) conflicts are caused by conflict-prone persons with traits such as stubbornness, intolerance, and related negative attributes; (2) these traits are acquired in early childhood; and (3) teachers and schools are incapable of helping these troublemakers change significantly" (ibid., 21). Teachers felt little responsibility or motivation to encourage more positive behaviors or values.

While some countries attempt to reform divisive curricula, many fall short in designing and implementing the kinds of reforms that would contribute to building social cohesion and laying the foundation for peace. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, although changes have occurred in literature and history courses, troubling elements remain in the new curriculum. For example, the lessons learned from the war do not include conflict resolution or peace education but rather an emphasis on the idea that "we must remember all cruelties committed towards our people and our country" and the strengthening of what is "ours." Although tolerance is mentioned, teachers are specifically required to promote curiosity only for countries that have been close to and friendly with Bosnia-Herzegovina (Kolouh-Westin 2003, 10).

A 2003 content analysis of textbooks used in Bosnia-Herzegovina also revealed limited progress in textbook reform efforts. For instance, while the concepts of human rights and democracy are included in the textbooks, "the student is given a negative model of these topics" (ibid., 20). These textbooks were developed for use in all parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina and yet, as the author points out, "the strong emphasis on the 'Bosnian uniqueness' and 'Bosnian patriotism' (meaning Bosnian-Muslims) and the many descriptions of the 'Serbian and Montenegrin aggression' is directly offensive to the Bosnian-Serbs and Bosnian Croats" (ibid., 20).

In many developing countries, instructional approaches reinforce students' adoption of negative messages in the classroom. The common "chalk and talk" method presents ideas and concepts as facts rather than perspectives to consider, question, or analyze. This approach fails to develop critical thinking skills, creating a generation of students that may be literate, but only "know" the information they have been spoonfed. For example, a 1997 evaluation of education in Sierra Leone found that "even at the height of its academic excellence, education in Sierra Leone tended to produce 'clever conformists' rather than 'daring innovators.'" The evaluation describes

> a culture of schooling in which teachers know best; school rules exist for the good of the pupils and should not be flouted; deference must always be shown to those who "know better"; respect for those in authority should be maintained at all times; knowledge is there to be acquired, not to be challenged; knowing answers is more important than asking questions; etc. (Wright 1997, 22)

This rigid environment permeated society. The report concludes that "it is not surprising that in Sierra Leone society, people tend to be judged or valued more by their qualifications than by their actual job performance," an attitude conducive to corruption and stagnation (ibid., 22).

A 2000 evaluation of peace education in Serbia describes how teachers employ a similar instructional method, known as "teaching by transmission." This approach teaches students not to question

authority or ideas, emphasizes memorization over critical thinking, and does not impart a true understanding of the information being taught. As the evaluation stresses:

> Such instruction contributes to the homogenization of students' minds and deprives them of responsibility for their actions. Such socialization establishes a clear power difference between teachers' voices and students' voices: The teachers' utterances function as "directives" that students are expected to follow. Of course, such directives are designed to get the student to act in the "right" way. (Rosandic 2000, 16)

The author concludes that "children have but the most limited framework for conscious reflection and hence, for self-generated change and development of autonomy" (ibid., 16). It is easy to see how an exclusive reliance on rote methods could spawn more citizens who perpetuate rather than question messages that impart prejudicial values and threatening notions of "others," as well as serve as one of the factors that increase the supply of recruits willing to participate in socially divisive activities.

In addition to curricula, textbooks, and instructional methods, students also learn from the informal interactions with teachers and other students that take place in the classroom. For example, students learn that physical and emotional violence is an acceptable way to interact with others when harsh punishment and humiliation are routine disciplinary measures. For Kenyan children, corporal punishment is an everyday part of the school experience. A Human Rights Watch report (1999) on this practice comments that "research has identified this as a significant factor in the development of violent attitudes and actions, in childhood and later life." More specifically, it can "contribute to adult aggressiveness, authoritarianism, and lack of empathy, conditions in which repressed anger is acted out at the expense of others" (Bitensky 1998, cited ibid.).

Similarly, many teachers do little to thwart episodes of physical harassment, emotionally abusive exchanges, and physically violent interactions among their students. The type and quality of such interactions are governed by the classroom's social norms, which often reflect the social norms prevailing in the larger society. For example, in many South African schools, "years of violent enforcement of apartheid era policies have fueled a culture of violence. This historical legacy presents a challenge for the government as violence remains high in many areas and schools are still ill-equipped to curb violence" (Human Rights Watch 2001). Such emotionally and physically abusive interactions have proven negative long-term effects on society as a whole.

Content and Messages That May Promote Social Cohesion and Peace

Fortunately, what happens in school may also influence society in the opposite direction. Curriculum content and messages conveyed in the classroom may contribute to social cohesion and peace when they promote a sense of inclusiveness among students; emphasize customs, values, and traditions of all members of society; denounce negative portrayals of nondominant groups; and promote the use of peaceful methods to resolve problems and disputes.

There is good reason for educators to foster appreciation and acceptance of ethnic diversification in society. Nicholas Sambanis notes that "ethnic diversity is not linked to higher risk of civil violence, but may in fact reduce that risk," according to strong empirical data from several researchers (Sambanis 2003, 27). It is not the presence of multiple ethnicities per se but rather dominance by one ethnic group that increases the likelihood of violent conflict. When one group becomes powerful enough to exclude others, there is more risk of conflict. "Members of the group define their identity in opposition to other groups," explains Sambanis, "so once the group becomes involved in violent conflict, participation in the conflict is difficult to avoid" when group identity is threatened (ibid., 24).

In an effort to promote greater social cohesion and reduce conflict, a number of postconflict countries have attempted to reform a divisive curriculum into one that reflects society as a whole, with at least some degree of success. In Guatemala, as indicated earlier, the educational paradigm has shifted to one where "the concept of national citizenship is based on the acceptance of multiple cultural identities" (Tawil and Harley 2004, 17). The new curriculum in Mozambique "redefines Mozambican national identity in terms of a multilingual and multicultural society" (ibid., 24). A 2004 UNESCO study on curriculum policy and social cohesion concludes:

> In the cases of Rwanda, Sri Lanka, and Guatemala, there appear to be clear steps in the process of reflecting on what social cohesion has meant in the past, how that definition has itself been exclusive, what the dangers and consequences have been, and how the concept has thus transformed and evolved along very similar lines to those of education policies in societies emerging from civil strife. (ibid., 25)

After language, geography and history are the subjects most tied to national identity. These subjects have the ability to "teach us how to belong to a multitude of different zones as well as to the whole world—noting the continuity between territories, territorial divisions, and the fact that different places not only fit together but depend on each other" (UNESCO 1998, 6). In ethnically and culturally diverse countries, these subjects are also the most difficult to reach consensus on. Yet history and geography classes have the greatest power to affect social cohesion either positively or negatively, which is why it is so important to invest adequate time and effort to develop a broadly acceptable curriculum for these subjects.

Former UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor has noted that in conflict situations, insecurity can give rise to fear. This fear

> can easily be manipulated to give rise to aggressiveness and hatred which is turned against others—neighboring peoples, minorities, any group, in fact, that can be designated as "national traitors." Thus, a particular interpretation of past history is exploited to "arm" a population psychologically in preparation for a new chapter of tragedy and warfare. (UNESCO 1999a, 5–6)

To be inclusive, Sirkka Ahonen adds, "a history curriculum must recognize alternative narratives of the past. Only in this way will people with different experiences be included in a historical community; where the past is both shared and multifaceted, discussion can occur in an open space, and the future can consist of options." It is important to remember that this type of curriculum development is more difficult to administer than a process involving a single narrative and must be governed accordingly (Ahonen 2001, 190).

Since 1950, the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research has worked with Germany, France, and Poland to develop approaches for teaching about World War II and the Holocaust. The effort's "main intention was to correct the most distorted historical misinterpretations and to eliminate the often negative, sometimes hostile perception of the other" (Höpken 2000, 9). It has taken patient work to correct misinterpretations and establish a balanced view of problems between the countries. The tactics have included looking for consensus on crucial historical questions, modeling historical narratives acceptable to both sides, promoting an examination of the problems from several perspectives, and extending the time period examined—sometimes up to 1,000 years—to show a pattern of conflicts. Public hearings were part of the process, and while they were not always easy, in the end they helped the new books to reach acceptance (ibid., 8).

According to the report, these initiatives succeeded because

> 1.…they were undertaken in a *generally favorable political environment* of détente, and after basic disputes had been settled or lost their significance,
>
> 2.…they were backed by a *broad consensus within the society* about the need and the benefit of reconciliation,
>
> 3.…[they] are seen by the *political elites* as a matter for increasing their legitimacy and thus find their support or at least acceptance. (ibid., 11)

The report cautions that history books need to help develop a self-reflective, multiperspective thinking in students so that they can approach their nation's past in a critical spirit. However, the author sees little chance that books or curricula can succeed in that mission without the "undisputed commitment of the political elites on both the majority and minority sides" (ibid., 17). In the case of the Eckhart Institute initiative, arriving at this commitment was a process that required many years. This project thus highlights the long-term effort required to develop and effectively implement textbook changes.

More recently, in 2001 the government of Rwanda created a new textbook policy as part of its curriculum reform process. Policymakers understood that textbook policy is at the center of the process of implementing new curricula (Tawil and Harley 2004, 340).

The policy includes not only textbooks themselves but all educational materials, from teacher's guides to wall maps and posters. The government stated that it saw textbook reform as part of its overall effort to implement a curriculum contributing to social cohesion, by fostering

- national reconciliation, peace, and the unity of all Rwandans
- nonviolent problem resolution, gender awareness, respect for others, respect for democratic practices, and
- the understanding of health and population issues (ibid., 340)

Rwanda's textbook policy is relatively new, and it will take years to see the effect that it, and the overall curriculum policy, have on society as a whole. However, experts emphasize that "any effort at curriculum change that does not consider the effective and efficient use of textbooks and other pedagogical materials is unlikely to succeed" (ibid., 340).

Peace Education in Northern Ireland

In Northern Ireland, the Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) program, which began in 1992, is intended to be integrated into every subject. The program's goals are "to learn to respect and value oneself and others; to appreciate the interdependence of people within society; to know about and understand what is shared as well as what is different about one's cultural traditions; and to appreciate how conflict may be handled in non-violent ways" (Schell-Faucon 2002, 17). While it is still unclear how successful EMU has been, the number of schools that participate in the program—which is voluntary—has risen.

Greece went through a similar process that demonstrates the importance of careful development and implementation of new textbook policies, as well as the lengthiness of the process. After the collapse of the dictatorial nationalist regime that was in power from 1967 to 1974, educational reforms were introduced that included the rewriting of textbooks. It took more than a decade to fully accomplish this, but "by the mid-1980s Greek textbooks had significantly been cleansed of negative or offensive attributes to Balkan neighbors and had considerably suppressed nationalist rhetoric and jingoistic presentation of wars with neighbours" (Kofos 1999, 27).

Ethnically divided countries that have yet to experience conflict can also serve as positive models for the power of the teacher corps to promote social cohesion. Kazakhstan is an example of a transitional country that easily could have developed an education system favoring the dominant Kazakh majority over minority groups. Such a system would, in fact, have reflected the socioeconomic development of the country since independence in 1992. As comparative education expert Carolyn Kissane noted several years ago:

> Over the course of the last decade, the constellation of power in Kazakhstan has shifted dramatically in favor of ethnic Kazakhs. Kazakhs are the valorized nationality in the political, economic, and social spheres because of nationalizing policies that exclude minorities from full participation in government. (Kissane n.d., 1)

However, an examination of secondary-level history classrooms revealed that "teachers in all sites stressed the importance of teaching history with consideration and understanding of different interpretations of historical events." The study also found that teachers "emphasized the need to balance the new interpretations of history with the old so as not to exclude non-Kazakhs from the discussion" (ibid., 2). This case highlights the critical role that teachers can play in the classroom to shape inclusive ideas and attitudes in students, even within an overall divisive context.

In more severely dysfunctional settings, when the overall system seems to be failing to teach values of tolerance and mutual understanding, modest educational experiments may provide small glimmers of hope by showing what may work on a larger scale. One example is the Gal Bilingual/Bicultural School in Israel. The public school was founded in 1998 with the mission of creating

> a new model of education in which children, their families, and the surrounding community can experience and grow together among values of democracy, mutual respect, and tolerance, and ultimately this will make a valuable contribution toward greater coexistence between Arabs and Jews in our country. (Glazier 2003, 142)

The school goes beyond traditional coexistence models and uses both curriculum and pedagogy to facilitate interactions between Jewish and Arab students. Teachers encourage students to

spend time with each other and design activities to promote these interactions. According to the principal,

> The children come to school every day, every single day, day after day, year after year. It's not that they meet once every two months for two hours. They really get to know each other. They grow up together. (ibid., 143)

Despite the tensions in the country, these types of schools are multiplying in Israel and could serve as a model for promoting social cohesion throughout the country (ibid., 161–62).

As noted earlier, the authoritarian teaching style that has traditionally characterized education in many developing countries often may conflict with efforts to develop critical thinking skills and foster tolerance and mutual understanding. In a 1999 UNICEF evaluation of peace education, Susan Fountain recommends that interactive learning methods be employed to "support learning aims that relate to the knowledge, skills and attitudes of peace education." She continues:

> Research supports the idea that cooperative and interactive learning methods promote values and behaviors that are conducive to peace. For example, cooperatively structured small group work can build group cohesion and reduce biases between group members who differ in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, and disability. (Fountain 1999, 30)

Programs in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan that were designed by the Norwegian Refugee Council have been somewhat successful in promoting participatory learning. The programs are intended to highlight the importance of the relationship between curriculum content and delivery. An evaluation of the program found that teachers and students were enthusiastic about the program, but stressed that "altering the fundamentally hierarchical structure of the relationship between teacher and student proved especially difficult and culturally sensitive" (Sommers 2002, 7–8). One of the evaluators stated that

> It is…extremely delicate to introduce the notion of a child having the right to oppose adults, to discuss with them on equal terms, have another opinion and to make choices that may not be in accordance with their teachers' or parents' wishes. (ibid., 7–8)

Peace education can also be introduced into the curriculum to promote social cohesion. UNICEF defines peace education as

> the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behavior changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level. (Fountain 1999, i)

Peace education can take the form of stand-alone courses or be treated as a cross-cutting theme in the school curriculum so that peace-related information and activities that reinforce related knowledge, attitudes, values and skills are woven through most courses. Summarizing the findings of Baldo and Furniss 1998, Fountain concludes:

> Peace education is most effective when the skills of peace and conflict resolution are learned actively and are modeled by the school environment in which they are taught. (ibid., 16–17)

Given the broad range of topics addressed and the implicit objective of changing complex behavior and attitudes, some disagreement about the policies and practice of peace education is

Peace Education in Indonesia

"UNICEF strongly supported Indonesia's fourth education initiative on peace education and non-violent conflict resolution in Aceh. Specifically targeting adolescents, educators developed an innovative 21-module peace education curriculum for senior secondary schools that drew from Islamic precepts on peace and integrated peaceful conflict resolution traditions from Acehnese culture. Five thousand copies of the curriculum were printed and distributed to all senior secondary schools in the region. Despite the unstable situation in Aceh, 50 teachers and 24 youth leaders were trained to use the curriculum. Through them, the initiative eventually reached some 7,716 high school students (age 16–18) in 25 schools across five regencies. The donor provided additional support for expanded implementation in 2002 to 65 new schools and five Islamic boarding schools"

Source: (United Nations 2002).

to be expected. This tension must be addressed in planning and curriculum design as well as in the classroom. Whether peace education is part of a preventive or postconflict strategy should also be considered.

Bush and Salterelli stress that peace education

> is only one of many educational measures needed in the midst of ethnic hatred. Curriculum packages that promote tolerance will have little impact if they are delivered within educational structures that are fundamentally intolerant. (Bush and Saltarelli 2000, v)

As with the entire field of this study, an almost universal critique of peace education is the lack of systematic evaluations, although the few that exist appear to validate the effectiveness of the programs. For example, an evaluation of 79 peace education programs in Israel found that 80–90 percent are "effective or at least partially effective" (Nevo and Brem 2002, 276). Some peace education observers suggest that the impact cannot yet be judged against the criterion of preventing conflict because the timeline has been too short. It takes significant time and effort to change attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, the real impact of these relatively new programs may not be observed for years to come.

Peacebuilding Approaches to Curriculum and Instruction

The research and case examples discussed in this study have revealed a number of curriculum- and instruction-related policies and practices that may have played a role in fueling the tensions that led to violence and conflict. Such policies and practices have been common to many countries that have been plagued by conflict. While many of the documents reviewed for this study contained extensive descriptions on how best to develop curriculum and instruction polices and practices that purportedly contribute to greater social cohesion and help lay a foundation for peace, few contained actual country examples demonstrating the success of the approaches discussed.

Since a coherent base of evaluative research to guide an evidence-based process of developing these polices and practices has yet to emerge in the literature, the following two sections on curriculum and teacher training identify some of the current thinking on approaches to use. However, the process of designing such policies and practices to increase social cohesion is subjective, and what works well in one country may not be suitable for another. Therefore, the approaches chosen to develop curricula and to train educators must be based on a critical analysis of the political, social, and economic conditions in the country.

Curriculum

The literature reviewed for this study suggests that a number of postconflict countries have successfully used consultative and representative processes in the reform of their education systems. Ideally, these consultations allow for a full range of opinions on important issues such as language, customs, and values that should be included or excluded. These meetings set the stage for the implementation and future success of the curriculum. The process in itself can help rebuild trust and social capital among different sectors of society and help establish a national vision, contributing to long-term peace and stability.

Failure to consult with a broad range of stakeholders when developing a national curriculum can produce new tensions in already fragile societies. This was one factor aggravating the situation in Sri Lanka, where Tamil educators were not consulted before Sinhalese textbooks were translated into Tamil for use by Tamil pupils. After their publication, "the Tamil Teachers' Union identified inaccuracies in the translated versions and claimed cultural bias in some of the illustrations and content matter" (Smith and Vaux 2003, 32).

In Guatemala, one result of the 1996 peace accords was the establishment of the Consultative Commission for Education Reform (CCRE). The CCRE set the guidelines for the implementation of education reforms through consultative decisionmaking processes with representatives across all sectors of society, including Mayan organizations, teachers' unions, churches, universities, and private enterprises. Particularly important was the involvement of "teachers and their professional organizations, whose opposition to the education reform proposed at the end of the 1980s prevented its implementation" (Tawil and Harley 2004, 124).

The goal of these processes was to prepare a unified National Education Agenda for Guatemala, which was accomplished "from the bottom up" by holding "331 municipal meetings, eleven meetings in the different zones of

the capital, and twenty-two provincial dialogues in addition to constructing what was termed the 'Great National Dialogue'" (ibid., 125). These representative conversations on the future of education resulted in consensus, and perhaps most importantly, stakeholder buy-in. Other countries that have held similar consultations when developing new postconflict curricula include Rwanda, Lebanon, and Mozambique.

International organizations must also ensure that curriculum design and implementation is participatory. As a UNESCO report explains, they tend to consider curriculum development a "national affair," and international support often takes the form of technical assistance and training to in-country experts (Sommers and Buckland 2004, 87). Curriculum development in postconflict Kosovo, however, followed a different model when UNICEF took the lead in developing a new curriculum framework for the country. The report notes: "UNICEF quickly recognized that there was a need for good international technical expertise, to engage local specialists and to work in a way that built capacity within the emerging system" (ibid., 88). The process included forming a team of local specialists, intensive training, and consultations with stakeholders throughout Kosovo. The mechanism was widely seen "as a high quality and important contribution to the modernization not only of the curriculum, but of the process by which curricula would be developed in the future" (ibid., 88).

However, after the framework had largely been approved, a new minister of education was appointed who voiced several objections to the curriculum development process, including the lack of full Kosovar input in agreements made during the transitional phase and the strong influence of a foreign—not local—university in the process. Intense negotiations between UNICEF, the minister, and other stakeholders salvaged the reform process, but major challenges still exist in implementing a unified national curriculum. This experience illustrates how "the ever-present tension between the need for quick and visible results and the slower process of negotiating consensus, securing buy-in and building capacity becomes particularly critical when a new political head arrives" (ibid., 90).

Despite teachers' central role in implementing curriculum reform, they are frequently not invited to participate in developing new curricula. A teacher from Papua New Guinea commented: "As a teacher I have not been consulted on anything in nine years about what teachers feel. They just do it in the top offices and send it down" (VSO 2002, 38). If teachers are not involved in curriculum consultations, they may resist any changes or be ill equipped to implement them. Teachers in Kosovo, for example, reverted to the biased pre-reform curriculum when faced with a new and unfamiliar one. As Smith and Vaux noted in 2003, "Any reform strategy which ignores the well-being of the teaching profession may undermine a crucial aspect of social cohesion and add to tensions that could lead to conflict" (Smith and Vaux 2003, 32).

Making the participation and training of teachers and administrators a priority will help build the momentum needed to make the reforms likelier to succeed. Indeed, the process of engaging a broad range of stakeholders is itself an out-

Accelerated Learning Helps Students Return to School in Afghanistan

When normalcy begins to return after conflict, enrollment levels increase, which makes retaining and attracting qualified teachers a top priority. In Afghanistan, enrollment jumped from less than 500,000 learners to 3,000,000 in 2002 and to 4,235,946 in 2003. At the same time, there was an estimated shortage of 44,000 teachers, and about 50,000 teachers needed training in the new curriculum. In addition, many young people had missed out on years of education during the Afghan conflicts. While they were uncomfortable with returning to a regular school situation, being substantially older than other students at their educational level, they realized they still needed education to prepare them for gainful employment.

Many programs have been designed to support solutions to these conflict-related problems. For example, the Ministry of Education planned to recruit new teachers from outside the education sector and to attract university students to teaching. In another approach being used in the Nangarhar province, USAID has trained 200 mentors to give 5,000 overaged students a basic but accelerated education. The program trains mentors in modern interactive and student-centered teaching methods. Accelerated learning of this kind is a new model being used in several postconflict countries. In allowing students to cover three years of schooling in a single year, such programs are an effective way for these students to "catch up" and receive the benefits of an education.

Source: Government of Afghanistan 2003, 4–7

come, guided by teachers and principals who facilitate community discussions about educational change and the way such change will meet academic, cultural, political, and economic needs.

A second approach to curriculum reform moves the focus from content to learning outcomes. The Smith and Vaux report discusses how a content-focused curriculum tends to result in a passive learning experience with limited exchange between the teacher and student that "may be perceived as an extremely powerful tool to promote particular political ideologies, religious practices or cultural values and traditions." According to Smith and Vaux, "the contemporary trend in many countries is to 'modernize' the curriculum so that it is defined in terms of 'learning outcomes,'" a type of curriculum that includes "skills, attitudes and values as well as factual knowledge." This movement "is fuelled partly by recognition that the expansion of knowledge can no longer be contained by already overcrowded syllabuses and partly by the changing nature of employment and the need for transferable skills." Curricula based on learning outcomes help develop the types of skills that may be helpful in avoiding conflict, such as communication skills, critical thinking, and "the ability to draw on multiple sources of information and evaluate conflicting evidence" (ibid., 28).

The learning outcomes approach can be carried a step further by designing a curriculum explicitly to prepare students for future jobs. One way to link education to job creation is to tie primary and secondary instruction to practical work such as farming. A good example is the farmers' schools in Cambodia, Vietnam, and Indonesia. Students are taught math, language, and science both conventionally and by applying these skills to calculating fertilizer needs and charting the results of different approaches to rice propagation. Students learn and apply principles of integrated pest management, along with skills in team leadership, critical thinking, problem solving, reporting, and bookkeeping. The program is directly tied to future economic opportunity, since in many countries agriculture is the main sector that can generate jobs for young people. Such an education is intended to improve the dismal employment prospects faced by youth in many failing and postconflict states.

Training Teachers in Postconflict Cambodia

Under the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, about 78 percent of the country's educators left or died. Recalling the period of reconstruction just after the Khmer Rouge fell in 1979, a Cambodian education official told education researcher Sideth Dy:

> By restructuring and rehabilitation I refer to collecting school-aged children and putting them into schools despite the poor conditions. Classes were even conducted in makeshift, open-air classrooms or under trees. We appealed to all, even those surviving teachers and literate people, to teach the illiterates. We used various slogans such as "going to teach and going to school is nation-loving" and so on. There were no official licenses or any requirements for taking on the teaching job. We just tried to open schools and literacy classes, regardless of their quality. (Dy 2004, 7)

At the beginning of reconstruction in late 1979, a small Ministry of Education was formed and education leaders started traveling to villages in secured areas, often going by foot, to survey villages and to organize schools. In order to improve the skills of undereducated teachers, the ministry set aside one day a week for in-service training sessions. This policy gave the ministry and the international community regular blocks of time to begin training of teachers and for school staff to help each other plan the next week's activities. By the early 1980s, a K–12 education system was up and running, and almost a million children were enrolled. More than 25 years later, the teachers who were recruited during the early years of reconstruction have mostly retired, their places taken by a new generation of teachers.

Though the scale of its losses under the Khmer Rouge was extraordinary, Cambodia's need to rebuild its education system is not unique. After a severe war, a country's teaching corps is often decimated because teachers have fled, been murdered, become military casualties, died of hunger and disease, or left the profession for jobs offering a better salary (or at least a reliable one), such as work with international relief agencies. The new teachers initially recruited after peace comes often become the backbone of the teaching force for the next 15 to 20 years.

Teacher Recruitment and Training

In fragile or failed states, it is common to have large student-to-teacher ratios and a chronic shortage of classroom space. In nonurban areas, school officials may need to recruit from among the best-educated and to issue year-by-year contracts in order to find enough teachers for returning students. The problem of retaining teaching staff is often compounded by a lack of funds to pay teacher salaries. For example, most teachers in the DRC have been paid irregularly or not at all since 1995. This forces many educators to leave the profession in search of better opportunities.

During conflicts, teachers are often victimized by groups that view education as a threat, which cause many to flee the profession, compounding teacher shortages. In Nepal, 28 teachers have been murdered since 2001, and in Sudan, educators in the Darfur region have reported being particularly targeted by the government for "treason" and being prevented from speaking publicly about the crisis. According to one teacher, "They [the government] think anyone who can read and write and who can organize people and inspire minds are rebels" (Wax 2004).

Immediately following the conflict in Rwanda, UNICEF provided an incentive payment of $800,000 for teacher salaries in order to retain and attract educators (Obura 2003, 65). While an unusual move, it was fairly successful in stabilizing the teaching population. In Uganda, USAID worked with the government on a national teacher recruitment campaign and has supported salary increases and timely salary payments to combat teacher attrition (USAID 2002, 42).

Another common problem is that many teachers in postconflict countries lack teaching qualifications. In Sierra Leone, as of May 2003, only 56 percent of teachers were qualified to teach (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children 2004, 75). The shortage of qualified teachers was most pronounced in areas most affected by the war, which could enhance inequities between war-affected areas and more peaceful regions of the country for decades to come (World Bank 2003, 46). It is imperative to prioritize teacher training from the beginning of reconstruction. Teachers are on the frontlines of educational change, and therefore they must have the skills and qualifications to effectively implement educational reforms that contribute to peacebuilding over the long term.

In a World Bank report on teacher development, Craig, Kraft and du Plessis assert that in-school training is critical and should be ongoing throughout a teacher's career (Craig, Kraft, and du Plessis 1998, 46). The behavioral, attitudinal, and cultural changes required to help children learn what consistently contributes to peace and stability is spread along a continuum of teacher and system reform. The quality of learning derives from a thorough understanding of change from the teacher's point of view. Each new layer of pedagogy, conceptual change, and intellectual effort to learn new content must be reinforced by encouragement to try new ways of teaching, of thinking, and of undertaking personal change. Feedback, supervision, and system support in material and resource allocation, as well as understanding and support from a community that knows how to help a child learn, all play roles in education change (World Bank 2003, 46).

Craig, Kraft, and du Plessis emphasize the need to start in-service training where a teacher is, not where the trainer may think the teacher ought to be (1998, 32). If necessary, trainers should encourage teachers to take small steps at first:

> Even if only very modest changes are produced, such as getting a teacher to come to class each day and undertake basic skills training with rote methods, this represents progress if before the teacher did not even make it to class. While there are certainly better methods than rote to help children learn, the point is that planners and administrators may need to have modest goals in the initial stages of enacting a teacher development program. However, they should never lose sight of moving forward to the goal of creating a teacher who will use a variety of interesting and effective learning methods.

Finally, teachers in developing countries are isolated as a rule. They spend the majority of their time as a single adult in the classroom, teaching, monitoring, and controlling their students. Interaction with colleagues is usually infrequent. Trading ideas, reflecting on learning, and observing other teachers are not built into a typical academic day (Fullan 2001, 119–21). In conflict situations, where communications are broken and roads are often compromised by security, the isolation of teachers and the embargo on professional information from outside is much more profound. It

is essential to find ways from the outset to maximize regular peer group discussions for lesson planning, classroom observation, guided review of material, sharing of teaching techniques, and even regional workshops or educational material fairs. The objective is to begin professional development for teachers and principals who come together as a "learning community" well before they need to undertake the intensive activities needed for formal curriculum reform (Craig, Kraft, and du Plessis 1998, xii). This will also strengthen the integration and performance of new teachers joining the ranks of educators as enrollment expands.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Humanitarian and development assistance provided during and after conflict by international donors has undoubtedly helped save lives, eased the suffering of victimized citizens, and provided them with greater stability and hope for their future. At the same time, there is considerable consensus among scholars and practitioners that such well-intentioned assistance has in some cases been misused by recipient authorities to pursue divisive and corrupt policies and practices and has, therefore, inadvertently contributed to fueling further social disintegration and future conflict.

It takes years to change what is often institutionalized discrimination in an education system.

This desk study of public education's role in fostering the conditions that promote conflict or peace summarizes and builds on the recent literature on this topic. The central message emerging from this and similar studies is that donors need to think more critically and strategically about how best to structure educational assistance to states in crisis and to those emerging from conflict to ensure that their aid helps to foster future peace rather than future violence.

Donors' educational programming during and after conflicts has generally focused on many of the same activities as those undertaken in nonconflict settings, such as curriculum reform, teacher training, building schools, and so on. This is not surprising, since educational systems in either case suffer from many of the same problems, such as poverty, mismanagement, and outdated methods. However, as a recent World Bank report pointed out:

> Even though many of the development tasks are familiar, educational programming in postconflict societies cannot be "business as usual." …The added demands created by conflict, the scale of the reconstruction challenge, the urgency to avoid relapse into violence, and the extremely difficult operating conditions call for strategies and programs that address both the usual development challenges and the additional challenges created by conflict in new and innovative ways. (World Bank 2005, 26–27)

In their 2002 report, Smith and Vaux contend that

> the most important characteristic of school education is that it is almost always run by the state, and the state may be a party to the conflict. This makes intervention in such a situation extremely difficult because it will be hard to separate impartial humanitarian objectives from political judgments. Deci-

> sions about the potential impact of development assistance for education are also difficult in situations where there are unstable political structures, no clear view about long-term, sustainable governance arrangements, undemocratic regimes or lack of confidence in government authorities. (2003, 23)

Challenges posed to international donors' efforts to provide effective humanitarian and development assistance are not confined to those found on the ground in such settings. As pointed out in a report issued by the Development Co-operation Directorate's DAC Network on Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation (2002, 6):

> Donor policy decisions are…not purely "rational" in terms of being informed solely by considerations of what would be the most effective way of pursuing the policy objective. Donor policy decisions, just as those of operational agencies, are shaped by other factors, such as pressure from domestic constituencies, financial management arguments, concerns over staff security, a need for visibility etc.

To regain control over education, most countries damaged by conflict need international donors' financial assistance to rebuild their education systems. As governments become dependent on donor aid, they are often pressured into adopting the international agenda, namely Education for All (EFA), which emphasizes equitable access to education as well as curriculum reforms and teacher training. However, when there are large differences between donors' values and objectives and those of recipient authorities, the latter may make only negligible progress toward the donor's recommended policy changes. In such cases, authorities may use donor funds to perpetuate policies and practices that are divisive but have been successful in securing support among key population groups for specific government political objectives.

Educational programmers should understand the power relationships operating nationally, regionally, and in local communities before supporting any request for educational aid—from siting new schools to designing curricula to producing and distributing textbooks.

Judging by the experience of countries that have successfully emerged from conflict and witnessed lasting stability and peace, a critical element in bringing about real change in education systems appears to be, not surprisingly, the political resolve and commitment of those in power. When leaders have a long history of promoting divisive educational policies and practices to maintain their power—and face continuing real or perceived threats to their hold on that power—developing such political resolve does not come easily. It has usually resulted from considerable internal as well as external pressure and has has evolved over many years, with multiple starts and stops. It appears that the persistent, patient, and skillful efforts of international donors and their partners have played an important role in helping to stimulate and reinforce such political resolve in a number of postconflict countries.

The following recommendations offer guidance to support USAID's intention to optimize the educational resources it provides in such settings so as to make emergency schooling available and help rebuild the education system while also helping to build social cohesion and mitigate future conflict. The approaches suggested are intended to counter and minimize recipient authorities' use of USAID resources to advance divisive educational policies and practices that can aggravate the conditions that lead to violent conflict.

Designing and implementing a reconstructed education system that contributes to peace in such fractured settings is a long-term and holistic endeavor. It takes years to change what is often institutionalized discrimination in an education system. All aspects of the system must be thoroughly evaluated in order to design policies that result in sustainable peacebuilding. A recent book examining education reform in post-apartheid South Africa from the early 1990s through 2002 found progress in areas such as educational equity, but stressed that the country's eight years of democracy was "much too short for a fundamental transformation of the system" (Fiske and Ladd 2004, 5).

Recommendations

1. Apply a "conflict lens" when designing and implementing educational assistance. *A thorough examination of how public education may have served as one of the factors that contributed to past conflicts and the potential impact of current governmental policies and practices is essential to ensure that educational assistance plays a role in building social cohesion and does not contribute to further violence.*

Serious questions are being raised in the international donor community about instances in which giving aid to public education could have unintended negative effects that may exacerbate the tensions underlying existing conflict. In their concluding remarks, Smith and Vaux maintain that

> In conflict countries or those where severe tensions exist, country-specific analysis is necessary to ensure that [unintended harm] does not happen. There has to be a comprehensive understanding of the political, security, economic and social dimension of conflict so that the role of education can be understood in context. (2003, 19)

The need to make education a central component of all conflict impact assessments or conflict risk analyses has also been emphasized by the World Bank (2005, 32).

Educational programmers should understand the power relationships operating nationally, regionally, and in local communities before supporting any request for educational aid—from siting new schools to designing curricula to producing and distributing textbooks. Any of the above choices, seemingly innocuous if viewed through an "education lens," can take on a darker connotation when viewed through a "conflict lens."

To help USAID staff apply a conflict lens when designing and implementing educational programs, USAID should develop an educational component in the agency's conflict assessment instruments. Until such a component is formally developed and tested, the policies and practices identified in this study should give staff a useful point of departure for examining how public education may have been a factor contributing to past conflicts, as well as the potential impact of current policies and practices.

2. Sequence educational interventions within a conflict-prevention framework. *Educational interventions should be sequenced as carefully as possible within a conflict-prevention framework so that interventions actively help build social cohesion, lay a foundation for future peace, and reduce the risk of further violence.*

The conflict and early postconflict environment presents distinct challenges for donors in prioritizing and sequencing educational interventions. Donors are faced with a wide range of issues demanding attention; weak country capacity to design, coordinate, and carry out activities; and urgent calls for action to stabilize the situation and show visible impact. In many cases, such calls for action include pressure to launch premature educational interventions with negligible or harmful effects.

For example, in some settings, there has been a call to immediately issue textbooks to students. While receiving textbooks has been shown to be helpful to learners and could serve as a visible demonstration of a constructive educational effort, in many cases the only textbooks readily available contain divisive socialization messages from the preconflict regime.

Similarly, there is often pressure for immediate curriculum and textbook reform to eliminate divisive subjects from the curriculum and divisive passages from textbooks, to incorporate new subjects into the curriculum that will have a peace-enhancing impact, and to include more tolerant language and perspectives in textbooks. While such efforts are essential to developing a positive educational system, they do not produce early outcomes with immediate and visible impact; they take time, as well as strong leadership commitment and broad participation. In most former conflict settings, the process has required many years.

This is not to suggest that efforts toward such reform should not begin early on—they should. But they should be coupled with efforts to identify and set up strategic incentives that will alter the political game enough to help move power groups to commit to reform. Rushed reform drives may yield only limited progress on paper and negligible progress in actual practice.

Many of the documents reviewed clearly emphasized the challenges posed by the need to set priorities and sequence interventions, including some of the problems described above that resulted from implementing interventions prematurely. There appeared to be considerable agreement on the elements that would form an analytical framework for

considering how to best sequence interventions. While such a framework provides a useful starting point for designing educational programs in fragile or postconflict settings, policymakers and practitioners have been clamoring for a framework that outlines the most effective sequencing of specific interventions.

Though the authors of this study attempted to put together such a framework based on evidence provided in the literature, they found it an impossible task, given that there is little if any agreement on such sequencing. This lack of agreement was also pointed out in a report issued by USAID's Africa Bureau in 2000 (Miller-Grandvaux and Moreau 2000, 3). In the absence of a set of "best practices" for sequencing interventions, Annex B presents a list of resources that provide some of the diverse perspectives on how to sequence interventions.

A couple of promising approaches may, however, be tentatively mentioned. Most of the documents reviewed during this study emphasize the importance of focusing first on the need to get the basic school system functioning again "so that the return of children and youth to school can be seen as an early 'peace dividend' that will help shore up support for peace" (World Bank 2005, 30). A new school being built or reopened can signal a sense of normalcy and the government's seriousness about peace. Encouraging and empowering parents and teachers to participate in these early activities gives the community a critical stake in developing an education system that both serves its children's needs and contributes to sustainable peace.

While reestablishing the educational system's managerial and operational capacity is a long-term endeavor, efforts to do so should, to the extent possible, begin concurrently with humanitarian assistance. Rebuilding institutional strength by making or reestablishing professional connections is a relatively unexplored area in education. However, there seems to be a multiplier effect in rebuilding social capital through these institutional connections, which would benefit from further examination. In postconflict Cambodia, for example, meetings were held around the country to bring together education officials from across the country. Participants rekindled old working relationships and began to cooperate across factional lines. At each new meeting, the capacity to plan, implement, and monitor projects improved (Anne Dykstra, personal field journals). Participation in postconflict meetings, conferences, and training should thus be as broad as possible to maximize connections and help strengthen social cohesion.

Each educational intervention should be shaped within the academic, political, cultural, and economic context of each country and be designed within a broad sectorwide "development" framework. As a recent World Bank report indicates, "Even when it is part of a humanitarian response, education is a development activity and must be undertaken within a development perspective if it is to contribute to reversing the damage and to building resilience to prevent further violent conflict" (2005, xii).

Each conflict situation has a unique historical, political, and social context and poses different challenges for the education sector. Therefore, it is only with careful and thorough analysis of the situation that postconflict educational programming can be effectively sequenced to facilitate the trust, cooperation, and participation of all stakeholders that is required to successfully implement national education reforms that will contribute to a lasting peace.

3. Promote participatory approaches to education reform. *Educational reform initiatives should be developed through a consultative process that encourages broad participation of all stakeholders.*

Most of the programs and policies examined in this study are found within extremely diverse societies. It appears that countries that have successfully emerged from conflict have largely developed their educational reform initiatives through consultative processes that included broad participation of stakeholders. Many reports examined for this study emphasize this as a critical component for establishing an educational system that will contribute to lasting peace. Educational researcher Nat Colletta asserts that "Parents, teachers and the community at large should be actively involved.…Team spirit should be encouraged, as this will be a start to the reconciliation process to follow" (World Bank 2003, 15).

In the course of many conflicts, communities have taken responsibility for providing education, and they often continue to play an important role in ensuring that education continues during early reconstruction phases when state capacity is limited. As Peter Buckland has stated:

> During most conflict situations the energy to sustain delivery of

> education shifts to communities and schools, and in early reconstruction this energy provides critical momentum to get schools reopened and the system running. It is critical that efforts to reconstruct the system do not undermine the level of community involvement and participation that is frequently engendered during conflict. In circumstances where new political authorities are enmeshed in difficult policy negotiation and where the administrative capacity of the system is weak, resources directed to schools and communities are critical to sustain the momentum of education provision. (World Bank 2003, 61)

Local participation is not confined simply to decisionmaking. Hiring local workers and using local materials to help build schools, prepare and publish educational materials, and so on can be useful in engaging participation and supporting the local economy.

4. Strengthen links between education and future employment. *Primary education should establish the basic foundation skills applicable across a broad area of employment and productivity, while secondary instruction should establish more focused skills applicable to specific areas of employment. Both primary and secondary education must provide the tools and skills necessary for lifelong learning.*

High numbers of unemployed and unskilled youth are usually found in failing and collapsed states. These unskilled youth often become commodities in labor-intensive local and international industries, such as hospitality, natural resource extraction, the military, insurgencies, the sex trade, and drug trafficking. By improving the relevance of curricula so that students can learn and apply practical skills needed in the labor market, education could improve the job prospects of unskilled youth. Both primary and secondary education must provide the tools and skills needed for lifelong learning.

In many developing countries, the best way to link education to jobs is to tie primary and secondary instruction to practical work such as agriculture. Programs like the farmers' schools in Cambodia, Vietnam, and Indonesia, which teach traditional subjects and link instruction to practical job skills, can be implemented to better prepare students for future employment.

5. Make the support and training of teachers a priority in education reform. *Technical and financial support of teachers should be a priority in educational reconstruction and reform efforts.*

Teachers are the most critical resource in education reconstruction as the primary implementers of the reforms that could promote peace. In postconflict countries, however, educators must deal with an extremely stressful work environment, which can become even more difficult when teachers are asked to learn a new curriculum and change their instructional techniques.

Well-designed teacher training strategies and adequate resources for educators are necessary to make these transitional periods as smooth as possible, ensure that enough teachers are hired and trained, and prepare teachers to create a learning environment and provide the kind of instruction that will foster social cohesion. Besides providing for training teachers in the new curriculum and upgrading their pedagogical skills, training strategies must also include efforts to help teachers begin to heal the emotional wounds resulting from the losses and suffering they endured during violent conflicts. Without such psychosocial assistance, many teachers might be unable to function effectively as teachers or help students in their own healing process. In addition, they may project blame for their own suffering onto children of the groups that perpetrated violence during the conflict. Trainers should also equip teachers with the ability to apply nonviolent discipline and to model and set classroom norms that make physically and emotionally violent interactions unacceptable.

6. Support regional education networks. *Regional education networks may provide an effective way to rebuild education in failing and collapsed states.*

After conflict, collaboration with neighboring ministries of education, who may have experience with postconflict reconstruction of their own education systems, may yield positive results. For example, during and after Cambodia's Khmer Rouge era, the Royal Thai Government seconded personnel from its Office of the National Primary Education Commission to UNICEF. UNICEF paid their salaries, first in refugee camps outside Cambodia and then, after reconstruction of education began, in Cambodia itself. The Thai government provided direct support to the Cambodian Ministry of Education for more than six years.

In many regions of the world, these partnerships have great potential because of common culture and language. This shared identity can facilitate cooperation to strengthen education and aid in areas such as review of textbooks, oversight of printing and distribution schemes, and maintenance of data. It can also serve as a repository of curriculum, textbooks, and research and records that should be backed up for countries facing conflict (Pigozzi 1999, 6). This may be the most effective way to quickly build capacity and would be especially helpful in training teachers, principals, and other staff engaged in key technical functions. This avenue may also prove to be cheaper and more sustainable over the long term than international assistance and may augment international NGO support.

An example of a network in Africa is the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), a network and partnership of African ministries of education, development partners, education specialists, researchers, and NGOS that work to improve education on the continent.

7. Support further evaluation and research on the relationship between education, conflict, and peace. *A high priority should be placed on conducting evaluations of USAID's educational programs in conflict settings and in countries that are emerging from conflict. Understanding which educational initiatives are effective—and which are not—in helping to build social cohesion and prevent further conflict, including the optimal sequencing of such interventions, is critical for advancing the agency's conflict prevention work.*

Many of the documents reviewed for this study suggest that educational systems can play an important role in rebuilding splintered and failing states when policies and practices promote equity, inclusiveness, mutual understanding, and peaceful methods for resolving problems and disputes. While there appears to be some convincing evidence linking a number of such policies and practices to strengthening social cohesion and future peace, many of the "peace-promoting" educational initiatives discussed in the literature have yet to be evaluated. In many cases, extensive theoretical discussions about the presumed positive impacts of these initiatives, rather than direct evidence, have been used to bolster claims linking them to greater social cohesion and future peace. A coherent base of evaluative research to guide the development and sequencing of broadly effective policies and practices has yet to emerge in the literature.

However, even when the results of evaluative research become available, efforts to apply it will enjoy only limited success in the absence of a political commitment to social cohesion and peace. In the literature reviewed, there was some discussion of the important role international donors, agencies, and their partners appeared to play in helping to bring about such commitment in several settings. However, little detail was generally provided. Despite the centrality of this knowledge to the topic of this study, synthesizing such lessons in a meaningful way would require reviewing a body of literature that exceeded this study's scope and resources. Launching a study to identify specific efforts that seem to have helped to stimulate such political resolve could give USAID and other U.S. government agencies critical guidance about more effective ways of dealing with power groups that continue to support a divisive political environment.

In addition, while the scope of this study did not extend to topics such as private, religious, and nonformal education, these are areas that would also benefit from further research on how they may contribute to the conditions that lead to conflict or peace. It will be difficult to fully optimize the use of the agency's educational resources in failing and collapsed states without the benefit of the knowledge that such studies could produce.

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Annex B: Resources

"Children, Education and War: Reaching EFA Objectives in Countries Affected by Conflict"
Marc Sommers, World Bank
http://tinyurl.com/k2j87

Developing Education and Youth-Promotion Measures with Focus on Crisis Prevention and Peace-Building
Stephanie Schell-Faucon, GTZ
http://tinyurl.com/qmdc7

"Education and Peacebuilding—A Preliminary Operational Framework"
Annette Isaac, CIDA
www.peace.ca/edupeacebldframework.htm

"Education in Emergency, Crisis and Reconstruction"
UNESCO
http://tinyurl.com/m9req

"Global Information Networks in Education"
www.ginie.org/

Helping Children Outgrow War
Vachel W. Miller and Friedrich W. Affolter, USAID
www.dec.org/pdf_docs/PNACP892.pdf

Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies
www.ineesite.org/

Planning Education in and after Emergencies
Margaret Sinclair, UNESCO
http://tinyurl.com/hcja8

Post-Conflict Reconstruction in the Education Sector
World Bank
http://www.unesco.org/iiep/ss2003/finalreport.pdf

Reshaping the Future: Education and Postconflict Reconstruction
World Bank
www1.worldbank.org/education/pdf/Reshaping_the_Future.pdf

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